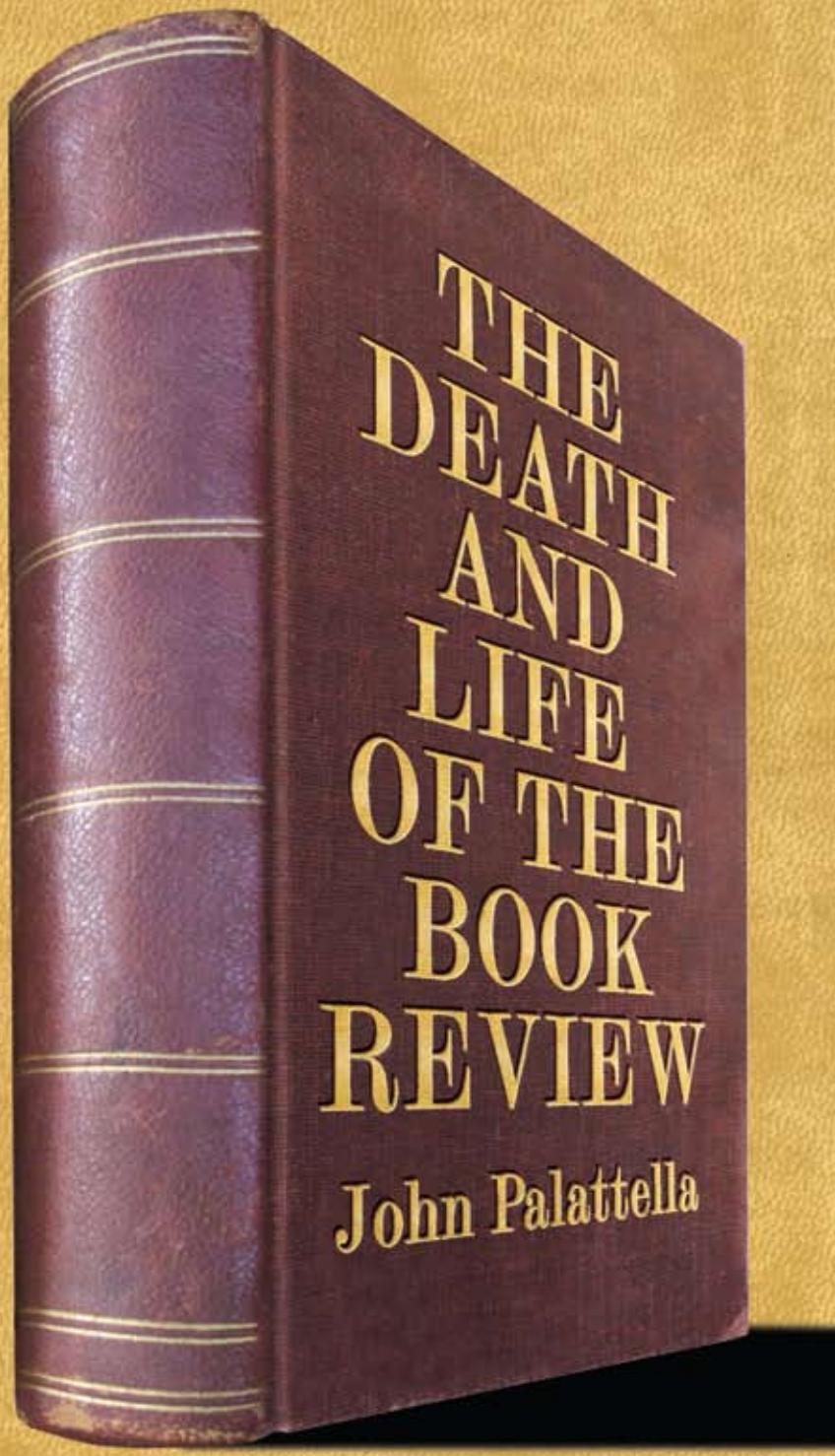
THE Nation.

FREE GAZA
THE EDITORS

ON CHANGE, NOT CHARITY
WALTER MOSLEY

THE NEXT DRILLING DISASTER?
KARA CUSOLITO



JUNE 21, 2010
TheNation.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The ***Appignani Bioethics Center*** invites you to join us on a cruise to the Bahamas that combines *leisure* with *intriguing topics:*

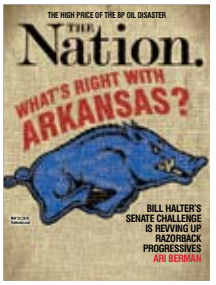
Dr. Michael West, Bio Time Inc.
Extending Healthy Lifespans: Is aging a disease?

Dr. Martha J. Farah, UPenn
Building a Better Brain: Can we become smarter, happier people?

Dr. Dietrich Stephan, Navigenics,
Personalized Medicine for Your Genetic Makeup

Registration: Total cost per person starts at $1099 (based on double occupancy). Prices are guaranteed until 90 days prior to sailing and may increase after that date. For details on stateroom options, call **800-422-0711**, M-F, 8:30am to 6:00pm or Saturday, 10:00am to2:00pm (Eastern time).

Letters


THE HIGH PRICE OF THE BP OIL DISASTER
The Nation.
WHAT'S RIGHT WITH ARKANSAS?
BILL HALTER'S SENATE CHALLENGE IS REVVING UP RAZORBACK PROGRESSIVES
ARI BERMAN

Goodbye Oil, Hello Molten Salt

Palo Alto, Calif.
Your May 24 editorial, "There Will Be Blood," is right: we need a moratorium on new offshore drilling and an end to subsidies for oil, coal and conventional nuclear power. Alternative energy is available: the thorium-based molten salt reactor, which generates the same power as a uranium or coal plant but creates less than 5 percent of the waste, and that waste becomes benign in 500 years. Other advantages: a thorium plant can burn our stockpile of nuclear waste/weapons; it cannot melt down/explode; thorium is four times as abundant as uranium; and the process was tested and proven practical in the 1950s and '60s at Oak Ridge (see thoriumenergyalliance.com and tinyurl.com/25mgqkd).We operated this safe nuclear system more than forty years ago but defunded it because it could not make bomb materials. Now we need it.
Hershey Julien

Defuse the Population Bomb

Swannanoa, N.C.
Can humanity save its climate before climate chaos destroys humanity? Juliet Schor's "Beyond Business as Usual" [May 24] observes, "But New Deal 2.0—expanded federal spending—still relies on climate destabilizing growth…addressing unemployment by unleashing even more climate chaos." Sadly, that's a convincing prophesy. And how can we find the solution until we reverse the rate of world population growth? Catastrophe may be only a matter of how soon climate chaos directly reverses that growth. Forget persuading humans to accept self-restraint to save our climate. We are all deniers.
Allan Dean

Story Time for Progressives

Deering, N.H.
Amitai Etzioni, in "Needed: A Progressive Story" [May 24], rightly calls on progressives to formulate a convincing narrative as a counterforce to the Republican story that America was on the right path until Roosevelt, Johnson and the '60s counterculture undermined our traditional values. To me the most convincing narrative would be "recovering community." Such a narrative can plumb the wellsprings of our yearning for community in an increasingly alienating world. But recovering community must move beyond our loyalties to ethnic, class and local groups to the larger American community. We must focus on what is best for all rather than what's in it for me.

Community loyalty is quintessentially American and has a long and honorable history. Recovering community would offer an umbrella narrative that can draw on our finest moments of history, our deeply felt concerns and our heartfelt need to invest ourselves in causes that transcend our smaller selves.
Donald Johnson

South Portland, Me.
Amitai Etzioni's essay echoes Bill Moyers's prescription that progressives need "a new story." Stories' roots are in myth (hence Moyers's fascination with mythologist Joseph Campbell), whose purpose is to tell us how to live. Progressives would do well to tap the American creation myth: the tale of those whose opportunity was foreclosed elsewhere—for ill fortune or lack of title or privileged birth—and who found opportunity through shared contribution and/or sacrifice in a community of equals. The story's power lies in the truth that community makes us strong.

Stories must explain—but to be compelling, they must inspire. Inspiration is the antithesis of and antidote to fear. And since fear is elemental to most neoconservative platforms, rising above fear must be an inspirational foundation of any progressive story.
Frank O. Smith

Taking *The Nation* to the Chic Sale

We were stumped by "Sales decoration" as "lunette," the answer to clue 9, Puzzle 1588

(continued on page 24)

letters@thenation.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation.
since 1865

Free Gaza

The Israeli commando raid on what has become known as the Freedom Flotilla is shocking on a number of levels. What could have driven Israel to order its navy to attack, in international waters, a flotilla of ships full of human rights activists, MPs from governments around the world, a Nobel Prize winner and two former US diplomats? What was there to gain from killing civilians—at least nine are dead, along with several dozen injured—attempting to deliver desperately needed humanitarian aid for the 1.5 million people of Gaza suffering under an Israeli blockade? *Ha'aretz*, Israel's leading daily, said, "The decision makers' negligence is threatening the security of Israelis, and Israel's global status."

EDITORIAL

Condemnation of the raid was immediate and overwhelming, with the shameful exception of the US government, whose UN representative merely expressed "regrets" at the loss of life. Demonstrations broke out in cities worldwide, including New York. Many countries condemned the attack—notably Turkey, until recently a key Israeli ally and regional power broker with whom relations may now be irreparably damaged because so many of its nationals were in the flotilla. The UN Security Council demanded an end to the Gaza blockade, although Washington successfully watered down the official statement and forestalled calls for an independent investigation. Without such an inquiry, it's unlikely that those responsible for this assault will be held accountable.

The attack on the Freedom Flotilla is the culmination of more than four years of failed policy, in which a siege has been imposed on the entire population of Gaza in an attempt to weaken and isolate Hamas after its victory in the 2006 parliamentary elections. Israel does not bear sole responsibility for an unjust blockade that also undermines its own long-term security; indeed, the policy was jointly crafted and executed with the United States and has enjoyed the collusion of the European Union, Egypt and even the Fatah wing of the Palestinian Authority.

The effects of this policy on the people of Gaza have been devastating. According to various UN agencies, the formal economy has collapsed. More than 60 percent of the people are food insecure, and nearly 80 percent depend on the UN for sustenance, with rising levels of malnutrition. The destruction of Gaza's infrastructure has been comprehensive, with the reduction in electricity supply damaging food production and storage and dangerously limiting access to safe drinking water. The blockade has prevented all but minimal repair of the damage from Israel's 2008–09 military assault; thousands are still displaced from their homes.

The United States has had ample opportunity to change its one-sided policy, which has resulted in continued warfare, occupation, misery and death for Palestinians and Israelis. Israel's occupation would not have been possible without tens of billions in US military aid, without dozens of UN vetoes cast by Washington, without the State Department's back-room strong-arming of other nations. It would not have been possible without the dishonesty of a US media establishment that habitually twists or simply refuses to report basic facts about the Israel-Palestine conflict—and is often less critical than the media in Israel. It would not have been possible without the active collusion or cowardly silence of the vast majority of the Democratic Party and liberal policy establishment, which for too long has bowed under the intimidation of AIPAC and other right-wing Zionist organizations,

Page 18: The dangers of natural gas drilling

Inside

2 Letters

Editorials & Comment

3 Free Gaza

4 The Lesser Evil
WALTER MOSLEY

5 Noted

6 Road Rage Russian-style
CARL SCHRECK

8 Ten Things
What You Can Do to Win a Political Campaign

Columns

6 Deadline Poet
On Obama's Plate
CALVIN TRILLIN

9 The Liberal Media
Israel Agonistes
ERIC ALTERMAN

10 Beneath the Radar
Europe's Democracy Deficit
GARY YOUNGE

Articles

11 God, Science and Philanthropy
The politics of the Templeton Foundation's "Big Questions."
NATHAN SCHNEIDER

18 The Next Drilling Disaster?
Unregulated natural gas drilling could wreak havoc on the environment and human health.
KARA CUSOLITO

22 Brace Yourself: Good News on Africa
A recent study rejects the conventional depiction of the continent as a basket case.
KAREN ROTHMYER

Books & the Arts

25 The Death and Life of the Book Review
JOHN PALATTELLA

26 Miracles (POEM)
BRENDA SHAUGHNESSY

32 Black Is Also a Color
BARRY SCHWABSKY

34 Jansson: The True Deceiver
MARIA MARGARONIS

COVER DESIGN BY GENE CASE & STEPHEN KLING/AVENGING ANGELS; ILLUSTRATION BY CAITLIN DOVER

VOLUME 290, NUMBER 24, JUNE 21, 2010
PRINTED JUNE 2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation.

EDITOR & PUBLISHER: Katrina vanden Heuvel

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

MANAGING EDITOR: Roane Carey
LITERARY EDITOR: John Palattella
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman (*on leave*), Richard Kim
WEB EDITOR: Emily Douglas
COPY CHIEF: Judith Long
ASSISTANT LITERARY EDITOR: Miriam Markowitz
COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Dave Baker
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
WEB EDITORIAL PRODUCER: Francis Reynolds
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
INTERNS: Morgan Ashenfelter, Allison Deger, Frederick Deknatel, Chantal Flores, Nicholas Kusnetz, Clarissa A. León, Timothy MacBain, Kate Murphy, Lauren North (*Washington*), Erin Schumaker

WASHINGTON: EDITOR: Christopher Hayes; **CORRESPONDENT:** John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Melissa Harris-Lacewell, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams, Gary Younge

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Barry Schwabsky; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Net Movement*, Ari Melber; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Peter Gizzi; *Sex*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Sports*, Dave Zirin; *United Nations*, Barbara Crossette; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Arthur C. Danto, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulic, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Michael Moore, Christian Parenti, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Karen Rothmyer, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Bruce Shapiro, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Ari Berman, Lakshmi Chaudhry, William Deresiewicz, Liza Featherstone, Bob Moser, Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *London*, Maria Margaronis, D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Deepak Bhargava, Norman Birnbaum, Barbara Ehrenreich, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Walter Mosley, Victor Navasky, Pedro Antonio Noguera, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, Kristina Rizga, Andrea Batista Schlesinger, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Amanda Hale
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Katelyn Belyus
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
PRODUCER/WEB COPY EDITOR: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES DIRECTOR: Joliange Wright
PUBLICITY AND SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Ben Wyskida
EDUCATION/COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
DIRECTOR OF DIGITAL PRODUCTS: Kellye Rogers
WEB PRODUCER: Joshua Leeman
TECHNOLOGY MANAGER: Jason Brown
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO VICTOR NAVASKY: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Elizabeth Berniak
ADVERTISING ASSISTANT: Kit Gross
CLERK: Shavonne Frazier
ACADEMIC LIAISON: Charles Bittner

PUBLISHER EMERITUS: Victor Navasky

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.

SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Printed on 100% recycled 40% post-consumer acid- and chlorine-free paper, in the USA.

including Christian Evangelicals, all of which claim to defend Israel but which in fact support the most retrograde forces in Israeli society—elements that are leading Israel on a path of self-destruction.

The rightward trend in Israeli politics, and widespread outrage stemming from the 2008–09 attack on Gaza, have led to tough questioning of the US-Israel alliance, not only among the younger generation of activists and bloggers in America—many of them Jewish—but also by the new liberal lobby J Street. This phenomenon was exemplified and noted recently by former *New Republic* editor Peter Beinart in a scathing *New York Review of Books* article critical of the older Zionist establishment. The trend is also analyzed at length by Norman Finkelstein in his new book, *"This Time We Went Too Far": Truth & Consequences of the Gaza Invasion*. Disenchantment may finally be growing in official circles too. As noted recently by Centcom commander Gen. David Petraeus, Washington's uncritical defense of Israel has increasingly become a threat to US interests in the region, where Islamist extremists use the oppression of Palestinians as a recruiting tool and where leaders have become increasingly wary of association with the United States.

One positive outcome of the attack on the humanitarian flotilla is that it has focused the world's attention, as never before, on the indefensible blockade of Gaza. The siege must end immediately, and along with it the counterproductive US-Israeli policy of isolating Hamas. Only then will it be possible to work constructively toward a resolution of the conflict.

The Lesser Evil

"Change. Not charity" is the motto of Los Angeles's Liberty Hill Foundation, which provides grants and leadership training for community groups working for equality and justice. At its annual dinner, on May 20, Liberty Hill presented its Upton Sinclair Award to Walter Mosley in honor of his "unwavering idealism and vision." Mosley, author of more than thirty books, is celebrated worldwide for his Easy Rawlins mysteries, set in inner-city LA after World War II. The best-known is probably Devil in a Blue Dress. *Mosley spoke at the dinner about "the lesser evil."*

COMMENT

My friend, I'll call him Jack, is getting older. He has a strong mind and a powerful writer's voice, but time is moving on and various parts of his body, especially his lungs, have weakened. In the cold, damp New York winters he was suffering bout after bout of bronchitis, sometimes spending the better part of the season in bed.

Jack's well-educated, very expensive doctor, in brief half-hour visits, prescribed for this recurring ailment ever stronger doses of steroids. Jack asked about the negative effects of the drug and the doctor said, in as many words, this is the lesser of two evils.

Two hundred and twenty-five dollars per half-hour, plus the cost of travel, drugs and future ailments caused by this radical cure, and the healer talks about two evils, becoming a metaphysician rather than a pedestrian GP.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Noted.

LOSING THE BASE: In his race for governor of Alabama, Congressman **Artur Davis** positioned himself far to the right of national Democrats. That earned him lots of plaudits from pundits who portrayed him as a "New South" coalition builder. Then Davis became the only member of the **Congressional Black Caucus** to vote against legislation addressing the healthcare crisis.

His populist primary foe, Alabama agriculture commissioner **Ron Sparks**, saw an opening and declared, "I will not let any Democrat in Alabama forget that Artur Davis voted against healthcare reform." Sparks, who is white, won endorsements from the state's oldest major African-American political group, the Alabama Democratic Conference, as well as from many of the state's most prominent African-American leaders and labor unions, like the **United Mine Workers** and the **United Auto Workers**.

On June 1 he beat Davis by almost a 2-to-1 margin in what the *Birmingham News* called "one of the more remarkable upsets in Alabama primary history." JOHN NICHOLS

PENCILS UP: For our fifth annual student writing contest, we're looking for thoughtful student voices to answer this question in 800 words: how has your education been compromised by budget cuts and tuition hikes?

We'll select five finalists and two winners—one from college, the other from high school. Each will receive a $1,000 prize and a *Nation* subscription. Finalists will receive $200. The winning essays will be published in the magazine and featured at TheNation.com.

Entries will be accepted through June 30, and a winner will be announced by September 15. The contest is open to all matriculated high school students and undergraduates at US schools, colleges and universities, as well as those receiving high school or college degrees in 2010. E-mail entries to studentprize@thenation.com.

Check out thenation.com/students to read previous winning essays.

SPEAKING OUT ON ISRAEL: **J Street**, the pro-Israel, pro-peace lobby that seeks to get the US more seriously engaged in the Middle East peace process, was quick to decry the deadly attack by Israeli forces on an aid ship as the "shocking outcome of an effort to bring humanitarian relief to the people of Gaza." As part of a broader plea for "immediate action" toward a "two-state resolution that protects Israel and frees the Palestinian people," J Street called for an inquiry "to establish responsibility for the violence and bloodshed" and an "immediate end to the blockade of civilian and humanitarian items from entering Gaza, subject to inspection and screening to prevent the import of arms and weapons." That's a reasonable response. Unfortunately, it didn't gain much traction in official Washington, where *The Hill* described the reaction to the attack as "somewhat muted."

While **President Obama** and House Speaker **Nancy Pelosi** called for a "credible and transparent" investigation, they eschewed even mild criticism of the attack or the blockade. A number of Democrats joined Republicans in urging the US to "veto any biased UN resolutions" condemning Israel, while Senator **John McCain** criticized Obama for not backing Israel enough. On the other side, Congressman Dennis Kucinich circulated a letter to colleagues calling on the US to "remind Israel as well as all of our other friends and allies: It is not acceptable to repeatedly violate international law."

Arguably the most outspoken Democrat was outside Washington, however. California Congressional candidate **Marcy Winograd**, a co-founder of **LA Jews for Peace**, bluntly decried the attack that left at least nine people on the aid ship dead. Despite being locked in a tight primary race with Congresswoman **Jane Harman**, who has made unblinking support of Israel central to her appeal to the Los Angeles–area district's many Jewish voters, Winograd pulled no punches: "Violence begets violence. Hatred begets hatred. Enough, we must stop this, and adhere to the laws that have been established by the international community…. As a Jewish woman of conscience, I invite my opponent, Jane Harman, another Jewish woman, and all of Congress to join me in denouncing this kind of barbaric violence, demanding an end to the blockade, and seeking an international investigation into these murders. I recommit myself to working towards a true, just and lasting peace."

JOHN NICHOLS

RIDE ON: On May 29 actor, filmmaker and artist **Dennis Hopper** died at 74. At *The Nation*, Hopper will be remembered as a longtime friend and supporter. For the public, he will be forever memorialized as the star of **Easy Rider** (1969), the countercultural touchstone he also wrote and directed, a film that helped launch the brief but glorious era of New Hollywood, when style, substance and smarts found a place in the studio system. Among his friends, however, Hopper will be celebrated as a man as complex and inspiring as he was iconic.

A couple of months before his death, Hopper received a star on Hollywood Boulevard's Walk of Fame. Actor **Viggo Mortensen** gave an eloquent and moving tribute on that occasion, and when we heard of Hopper's death, we published those remarks at TheNation.com. Here's an excerpt:

"Aside from being a complete and fertile artist, Dennis has, most importantly, remained a constant source of ideas, inspiration and humor for his friends and colleagues. This positive influence has manifested itself in his unceasing interest in people and their behavior, in the unpredictability of life—an openness that has often involved changing his mind and letting go of preconceived notions regarding art and morality in his life, and in the lives of others. Like any true artist, he has continually learned from, suffered over, and, as frequently as possible, laughed at his own mistakes and apparent dead-ends. He keeps himself honest, and he keeps those around him honest. 'Why do you say that?' 'Where did that come from?' 'Who did it first?' 'Why does it matter?' 'Maybe I'm wrong.' 'I love you'—these are some of the phrases likely to come out of his mouth at any time. His candor and essential modesty inspire fearlessness in others. As much as he deserves this star on Hollywood Boulevard and the many other professional honors he has received, it is this ability to instill a degree of fearlessness and wonder that sets him apart as an artist and as a friend."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We, Jack and I, have a third friend—Tina. Tina told Jack that there is a man named Tan down in Chinatown who charges $40 a visit and who only prescribes herbs that are to be brewed into bitter-tasting teas.

"Dr. Tan will take your pulse and then prescribe the proper herbs," Tina said.

This was a third position, something outside the Pandora's Box containing the two evils. Dr. Tan represented the grassroots, literally. Five thousand years of herbal medicine that comes down to one case of twenty-first-century bronchitis in SoHo.

The notion of two evils is broadly accepted in American culture. Most working people are well aware of the rock and the hard place, damned if you do and damned if you don't. We accept the inevitability of a losing trade-off on the long, declining, slippery slope of working-class American life.

Poverty and charity are two evils. The former grinds our bones and souls and children into rubble, while the latter weakens and ultimately eliminates our ability to live lives for ourselves—leaving us dependent upon the kindness of bureaucrats. You know the ones—those people who have your life in a manila folder hanging from wires in a green filing cabinet that sits behind a locked door that you don't have the key for.

The arbiters of philanthropy and good-will organizations never prepare us for liberation or revolution; they never question their superior position of humility and selflessness or the rightness of their charity.

Charity is the lesser evil, but it is still evil.

The overpaid, overblown doctor kills your kidneys along with the bronchitis, while Dr. Tan seeks only to strengthen your natural defense systems and organic immunities. He may fail sometimes, and so might his patients, but in this case he stopped my friend's bouts with lung disease.

There is almost always a third and fourth and fifth approach to any predicament—and any one of these methodologies might not be evil. When you find a leader, an activist, a member of the people, who is suffering—a woman or a man who is a part of this world and who demands dignity along with relief—then you have left the realms of poverty and its only slightly less evil sibling, charity.

The Liberty Hill Foundation echoes these opinions of mine in its decision to support activists, organizers and resisters of all kinds. You are here to strengthen the immune systems of those who are straining under the weight of rampant capitalism and its tax-free, big-name charitable foundations; its misguided acolytes who aggrandize themselves by throwing money at people who are ultimately transformed into bondsmen under the domination of this lesser evil.

I thank you for giving me this Upton Sinclair Award and for the opportunity to chastise the false hierarchy of most charitable organizations while being able to laud the proponents of liberation and, possibly, even revolution.

Thank you.

WALTER MOSLEY

Calvin Trillin, Deadline Poet

On Obama's Plate

Now Israel and Turkey are having it out.
The well near the Gulf Coast continues to spout.
Kim Junior's attacking "America's lackey."
It's hard to tell why: this little guy's wacky.
The war in Afghanistan drags on and on.
Iran's near the bomb—conclusion foregone.
The oil's at the beaches now, blob after blob.
Are you still quite certain you wanted this job?

Road Rage Russian-style

Moscow

Moscow restaurateur Andrei Hartley insists he's no revolutionary. He believes Vladimir Putin saved Russia from collapse and says he backed the Russian leader's handpicked presidential successor, Dmitri Medvedev, even if Medvedev's ascent "wasn't exactly democratic."

COMMENT

But when Hartley, 38, saw a bureaucrat's BMW buzzing toward him going the wrong way down a central Moscow thoroughfare with its blue siren flashing, he snapped. He drove his Ford Focus straight at the official's car, and when both cars halted bumper to bumper, Hartley grabbed a video camera he had with him, marched up to the BMW and demanded that the official in the front passenger seat identify himself. The man, Kremlin adviser Vladimir Shevchenko, opened his door but quickly pulled it shut when Hartley started asking questions. Shevchenko's driver got out and tried to swat the camera from Hartley's hand but backed off when a third driver, stuck in traffic, jumped out of his car to the businessman's defense. (In a radio interview, Shevchenko said he had done nothing wrong and accused Hartley of a "deliberate provocation.")

Hartley posted the video on the Internet, where it became a sensation in the raucous Russian blogosphere—the country's most vibrant forum for political debate—and made him a hero among Russian drivers disgusted with the ruling elite's brazen and reckless domination of the roads. While Muscovites waste their days in suffocating gridlock, officials simply switch on their sirens, known as *migalki*, and speed down the median strip or into the opposite lane to avoid traffic. For many Russians, the sirens are the most immediate and evident symbol of the impunity with which Russia's rich and powerful run the country.

"The issue is bigger than just the sirens," Hartley said in an interview. "It's a question of our society being divided into castes."

The simmering public resentment has boiled over in the months following the March 31 incident. Russian state news agencies have reported incidents of drivers intentionally obstructing the passage of unmarked cars outfitted with sirens. Other Moscow drivers have begun attaching small blue buckets resem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bling sirens to their car roofs, provoking traffic cops into pulling them over and filming the ensuing encounters with camcorders. Leonid Nikolayev, a notorious performance artist known as "Fucked-Up Lyonya," recently darted through five lanes of traffic on foot, threw a blue bucket over his head and climbed atop a siren-equipped car parked on a median strip near the Kremlin. The driver got out and chased Nikolayev but hustled back to the car and sped off after he saw the performer's friend filming the stunt. Authorities later tracked Nikolayev down at his apartment and charged him with disturbing the peace.

Some government officials have publicly defended the sirens, saying they are necessary for officials conducting crucial state business. But the recent widespread rage has not escaped the attention of the leadership. Since Hartley's dust-up, Sergei Mironov, speaker of the Upper House of Parliament, has said Medvedev and Putin are the only government officials who should be granted access to the sirens. A State Duma deputy from Putin's ruling United Russia Party then submitted draft legislation that would fine officials for abusing the devices.

The Federation of Russian Car Owners, a drivers' lobby group that has organized recent protests against the sirens, is calling for a ban on all sirens except for vehicles like police cars, ambulances and fire trucks. "We need to get rid of them once and for all," says Sergei Kanayev, head of the group's Moscow branch.

Reached on his cellphone while he was stuck in traffic on a recent Monday morning, Gennady Gudkov, a senior Duma deputy with the Kremlin-loyal party A Just Russia, said he would welcome a total ban. "Maybe it would force the executive branch to clean up the chaos on the roads," Gudkov said as car horns blared in the background. "As it is now, they could not care less. They can just turn on their sirens and go around the traffic."

But a ban seems unlikely anytime soon. In a tone-deaf legislative turn, in May Putin signed off on new road rules ordering pedestrians to clear the roadway should they see a vehicle approaching with its siren on. The rules, critics say, essentially give officials the right to mow down citizens on foot. Earlier in the month, Duma deputies proposed legislation that would make it more difficult for drivers to organize demonstrations involving automobiles—a clear response to the recent public protests against the sirens.

Drivers remain a problematic demographic for a Russian government accustomed to micromanaging the political landscape. In recent years they have proved to be one of the country's few grassroots movements capable of influencing state policy and mobilizing large groups of protesters nationwide. In 2005 railway worker Oleg Shcherbinsky crashed his car into a Mercedes carrying Mikhail Yevdokimov, governor of the Altai region in southwestern Siberia, killing the official. Yevdokimov's car had been speeding down the highway with a flashing blue siren, and Shcherbinsky was convicted in the official's death. The conviction sparked nationwide protests by drivers and was eventually overturned after United Russia decided to lobby on Shcherbinsky's behalf. Late last year United Russia backed down on a proposed tax increase on car owners following a wave of protests by drivers' lobby groups.

The Kremlin, of course, is wary of grassroots dissent. But unlike Russia's marginalized liberal opposition, drivers are difficult to discredit as fifth columnists or effete cosmopolitans with suspiciously Semitic surnames. (Car ownership is so closely associated with masculinity here that a Russian man who can't diagnose car problems or tinker under the hood may as well be a eunuch.)

"There are 4 million drivers in Moscow, and 4 million votes is enough to get any party voted into Parliament," says Anton Nossik, a Russian Internet pioneer and editor of the business website BFM.ru. Car ownership, he says, "is something that speaks to the masses. Almost every family has at least one driver, so [authorities] cannot incite the population against drivers the way they incite them against the oligarchs."

Nossik was one of the Moscow drivers who recently affixed a small blue bucket to the top of his car and drove around a posh neighborhood with his camcorder, recording the reaction of traffic cops. In the video of the stunt posted on the Internet, Nossik is pulled over by a young cop who says he just wants to check whether it is an actual siren atop the car. Nossik complains that he was pulled over for no reason, while officials with actual sirens speed along at will.

"We all live in Russia," the cop says as he hands back Nossik's documents.

CARL SCHRECK

Carl Schreck is a journalist based in Moscow.

@TheNation.com

The global media exploded in outrage at the Israeli attack on a Gaza relief flotilla, but in the United States the *New York Times* turns to Israeli officials while CNN experts justify the violence, writes Esther Kaplan in **US Media Pull Punches on Flotilla Attack**. And in **Israel's Piracy**, Roane Carey argues that Israel has only fueled the world movement to end the Gaza blockade.

See *The Nation*'s collected coverage of the attack on the aid boats, as well as previous articles on the blockade of the Gaza Strip, in the slide show **Gaza Relief Flotilla Attacked**.

Ken Salazar is one of the strongest advocates of offshore drilling in Washington today. In **Time for Salazar to Go?**, Mark Hertsgaard wonders if Salazar's Interior Department will really enforce the moratorium on new drilling permits in the wake of the BP oil spill.

On The Breakdown, Christopher Hayes asks, **What Is the True Cost of the BP Oil Spill?** As images of oil-drenched coastlines and stories of devastated industries and families crowd the airwaves, how can we begin to reckon the real magnitude of the damage?

We blame girls—but new studies report that it's boys who are sabotaging attempts at safer sex, Lynn Harris writes in **When Teen Pregnancy Is No Accident**.

We want to hear from you! It's easy to send us a Web Letter on TheNation.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ten Things.

Ten Things You Can Do to Win a Political Campaign

The 2010 midterm election cycle is in full swing, with right-wing pundits predicting a Congressional turnover just as sweeping as the Gingrich revolution of 1994, while the left is mostly hoping a loss of seats won't damage Obama's presidency as badly as the GOP's triumph did Bill Clinton's. So what should grassroots activists and candidates do? Consultants have made campaigns seem like rocket science, but they aren't. The basic formula is "50 percent + 1 = power," but there are a lot of ways to reach that goal. Malia Lazu, Mel King Community Fellow at MIT, has come up with ten things progressives can do to build a campaign for candidates who deserve to win.

1 Raise money. Until we reform our campaign finance laws with the Fair Elections Now Act (fairelectionsnow.org), money matters. In a majority of the races, the winner outspends his opponent. If you don't have access to wealth, familiarize yourself with public financing options. Go to commoncause.org to see if your state provides public financing. Learn about grassroots fundraising from groups like grassrootsfundraising.org.

2 Poll smartly. Polling allows you to quantify your position in contrast to other candidates, decide where resources need to be spent and hone your campaign message. To save expenses, find another candidate in your state who is polling, and buy a few questions on his or her survey. Don't poll to find out *what* to say; learn the best way to say it. For more counsel, go to pinedaconsulting.com.

3 Buy media time. We all hate that campaigns are reduced to thirty-second ads, but they do get a message out to a lot of voters when you need to reach them. Find smart consultants to show you creative and ethical ways to communicate (start with devinemulvey.com), and check out nontraditional venues, like agitprop.org, that produce not only commercials for radio and TV but also ads for the web that can allow your supporters to create and distribute media content.

4 Don't blame the voters. Politics is the only industry that blames the consumer for not buying its product. Elections are a one-day sale; it's your campaign's job to get people excited enough to vote. The best way to do this is by studying candidates who understand how to build not just campaigns but movements. Check out how Keith Ellison does it in Minnesota (keithellison.org) and how Chellie Pingree does it in Maine (chelliepingree.com).

5 Find your margin of victory. With Obama in 2008, the huge number of "nontraditional voters" who were inspired by his campaign helped put him over the top. But don't just attach yourself to Obama; channel the ideals and values that excited and engaged people in 2008. Look at what Joe Sestak did in Pennsylvania (joesestak.com).

6 Engage young people. Ask them about the issues that are important to them. Don't sideline their potential—if they are genuinely included in your campaign, they can give you the energy needed to win. For more, see yda.org/tools/18/youth-voting-research and campusprogress.org/features/295/so-you-want-to-run-for-office).

7 Make precinct captains sexy again. The key to victory is still the power of personal contact. Hire people from the community, train them and give them the tools they need. You can learn a lot at wellstone.org.

8 Energize the grassroots, and nourish the grass shoots. Encourage your base to self-organize using the web, SMS, Twitter and meet-ups. Go to theurbanlabs.com to find out the most efficient way to use these tools to win.

9 Use culture. While it's great to feature a celebrity at your campaign events, local cultural leaders like barbers, disc jockeys and bloggers can also lead you to your voters. Injecting your campaign into citizens' everyday life will foster a deeper connection with voters. Take a look at how Rock the Vote and Common Cause are using DJs and rock bands (blog.rockthevote.com).

10 Make election day fun. Puerto Ricans do election day right; they celebrate it. Use your get-out-the-vote plan to create energy and excitement. Encourage your voters to go to the polls en masse, and help them by organizing vans and buses to get there. See how groups like Virginia New Majority (virginianewmajority.org) do this by hiring taxis. Have music and poetry, and celebrate democracy!

CONCEIVED BY WALTER MOSLEY with research by Rae Gomes

"Ten Things" is a monthly feature. Readers who wish to propose ideas for it should e-mail NationTenThings@gmail.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eric Alterman

Israel Agonistes

The awful symbolism of the Israeli military attacking an unarmed humanitarian mission at sea—a mission not unlike the Zionist humanitarian missions to Palestine of 1947–48—provides a particularly painful reminder of just how far Israel has strayed from the ideals of its founding. Among the raid's countless counterproductive consequences is that it will further alienate the Jewish state from the liberal Zionists abroad who wish to support Israel but struggle to locate their values amid its increasingly right-wing and decreasingly democratic political culture.

Shortly before the attack, Peter Beinart's stinging critique of the failure of the American Jewish establishment either to defend democracy in Israel or engage liberal young Jews in the Zionist project, published in *The New York Review of Books*, somehow pierced the wall of denial that had enveloped all such discussions in America for the past forty years. Beinart, ex–liberal hawk editor of *The New Republic* and a member of an Orthodox synagogue, described an "American Zionist movement that does not even feign concern for Palestinian dignity and a broader American Jewish population that does not even feign concern for Israel." He placed the blame directly on the leaders of organizations like AIPAC, where "the Holocaust analogies never stop, and their message is always the same: Jews are licensed by their victimhood to worry only about themselves." And yet as Ron Kampeas of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency has reported, Beinart's piece "is being examined as well in the uppermost precincts of organized U.S. Jewry." He notes that "even some of Beinart's named targets—speaking off the record—agreed that a crisis was imminent and that he raised worthwhile issues."

True, many of the usual complaints were made by the usual suspects. Beinart, they said, is "highly idealistic" and "strident" (*TNR*'s Jonathan Chait); "pseudo-courageous" (*TNR*'s Leon Wieseltier); writing "in a publication that is typically the home of anti-Zionist or far-left polemics" and "joining the anti-'Jewish establishment' bandwagon" (*TNR*'s James Kirchick); "utopian" and not "too interested in the forces that seek the elimination of Israel" (*The Atlantic*'s Jeffrey Goldberg); and "joining the Israel bashers" (*Commentary*'s Noah Pollak).

But owing to his credentials as both a deeply committed Zionist and—let's admit it—a former parishioner in Marty Peretz's church of peculiarly neurotic and racist-tinged Jewish McCarthyism, Beinart proved immune to these time-honored tactics of discreditation. Indeed, he skillfully turned many of his critics' attacks back in their faces. Chait thinks Beinart is naïve—an odd criticism, Beinart notes, coming from someone who contends that Benjamin Netanyahu is sincerely dedicated to the goal of a Palestinian state. Chait and Goldberg say they do not disagree with many of Beinart's criticisms, but they think his focus is misplaced, given the threats Israel faces and the hostility of so many liberals and leftists to its legitimate concerns. Although some "leftists (and for that matter) rightists…focus so disproportionately on Israel's failings as to raise questions about their true motives," Beinart responds, the essay, alas, was about something else. Meanwhile, such complaints are consistent, Beinart points out, with such writers' typical response to all criticism of Israel. Yes, Jonathan Chait may "occasionally condemn Israel's actions, but with so much rationalization and minimization that he usually ends up more critical of the people criticizing Israeli abuses than of the abuses themselves. Yes, it's unfortunate.… Yes, it's regrettable.… Now can we get back to bashing J Street?"

The debate, moreover, has revealed the commonality between those who attack everything Israel does and those who defend it with the same ideological fervor (and frequent inattention to circumstance, context or fact). Pollak, for instance, pretends that Beinart's liberal Zionist plea puts him in the company of certain contributors (and columnists) for *The Nation*, Noam Chomsky, Avi Shlaim and of course *The Israel Lobby* authors Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer. It's hard to believe that Pollak, a graduate student at Yale, could have gotten past its admissions officers demonstrating such pitiful powers of discernment. Then again, smart people often say stupid things when discussing Israel and the Palestinians. For instance, Mearsheimer, the distinguished University of Chicago political scientist, gave a speech not long ago in which, speaking as an advocate for the Palestinians, he named a list of "righteous Jews" and, mirroring Pollak, lumped together disappointed friends of Israel M.J. Rosenberg, Roger Cohen and the folks at J Street with committed anti-Zionists like Chomsky, Norman Finkelstein and Naomi Klein. This tactic—a favorite of Jewish McCarthyites and Israel-haters both—will weaken in the wake of Beinart's recasting of the conversation.

Beinart accurately insists that "American Jewish leaders and commentators have become far too promiscuous about throwing around words like anti-Israel," a term he defines to mean someone who wants "Israel to disappear as a Jewish state." Personally, I think Beinart's definition goes just a shade too far here. Recent books by Bernard Avishai and Kai Bird manage to oppose Israel's religiously defined state apparatus and yet remain supportive of the rights and aspirations of Jewish Israelis. This may be naïve—in the same manner that people like Martin Buber, Hannah Arendt and Judah Magnes naïvely supported a nonexistent binational alternative to statehood in 1948—but it is unfair to term these views "anti-Israel."

Still, a moment of credit. Beinart has succeeded where many of us have tried and failed. He has opened a door to some painfully honest discussion about what role, if any, diaspora liberal Zionists might play to help Israel preserve its democratic character and make peace with its neighbors. And not a moment too soon… ■

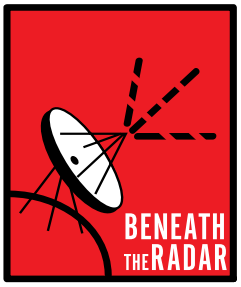
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gary Younge

Europe's Democracy Deficit

Imagine NAFTA as a tiny *amuse-bouche*—the precursor to a larger, supranational feast. Imagine it came with structural funds to promote economic development in struggling areas—from Michigan to Monterrey to Manitoba—and a social chapter to shore up workers' rights, and then the borders were thrown open so that labor could move freely along with capital. Imagine it then served up a North American Congress elected every five years from across the continent and added a North American Court of Human Rights. And then for the main course, it took the dollar (Canadian and US) and the peso off the menu and replaced them with a new currency (let's call it the americano), which would be administered by the North American Central Bank.

This extensive buffet might not be to everyone's liking. Indeed, some may gag from the get-go while others gorge themselves. Some utopians might champion it as the harbinger of a more social democratic world; others might argue it would further weaken unions and labor. But most would agree that such a bold project would demand democratic consent to be built and democratic control once it existed. The absence of those two basic factors would not only deprive the entire scheme of legitimacy but disable it from functioning properly.



Welcome to the eurozone and the European Union, struggling to maintain its credibility in the face of market speculation, popular protests and government ambivalence. The euro has lost about 14 percent of its value against the dollar this year alone. The weakest members of the eurozone—Greece, Portugal, Ireland and Spain—are threatened with ejection. Italy may soon find itself among them. Meanwhile, the strongest, France and Germany, are questioning the currency's survival.

The curious thing about this crisis is that on paper Europe's economies are not in terrible shape compared with the rest of the Western world. EU unemployment is marginally lower than in the United States (9.7 percent as opposed to 9.9 percent) as is the inflation rate (1.8 percent versus 2.2 percent). True, growth and productivity are lower too, so there's little reason for anyone to dance a jig down the Champs-Élysées. But fiscally it is far from an unmitigated disaster. According to the OECD, the US deficit, as a percentage of GDP, is higher than that in Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy—all in the cross hairs of the markets—and its public debt as a percentage of GDP is higher than that in Portugal, Ireland and Spain.

But Europe's primary problem—the reason it has been lurching from crisis to crisis as the markets tank, the Greeks and Spaniards protest, and the Germans and French bicker—is not its fiscal deficit but its democratic deficit.

For the only thing more breathtaking than the scale and pace at which the EU has developed, from a small, tariff-free trading area to a twenty-seven-nation union with a common currency, court of human rights and central bank, is the lack of democracy that has gone with it. Go back to that imaginary North American superstate and imagine this—absolutely no direct democratic control over anything as an explicit feature of the system.

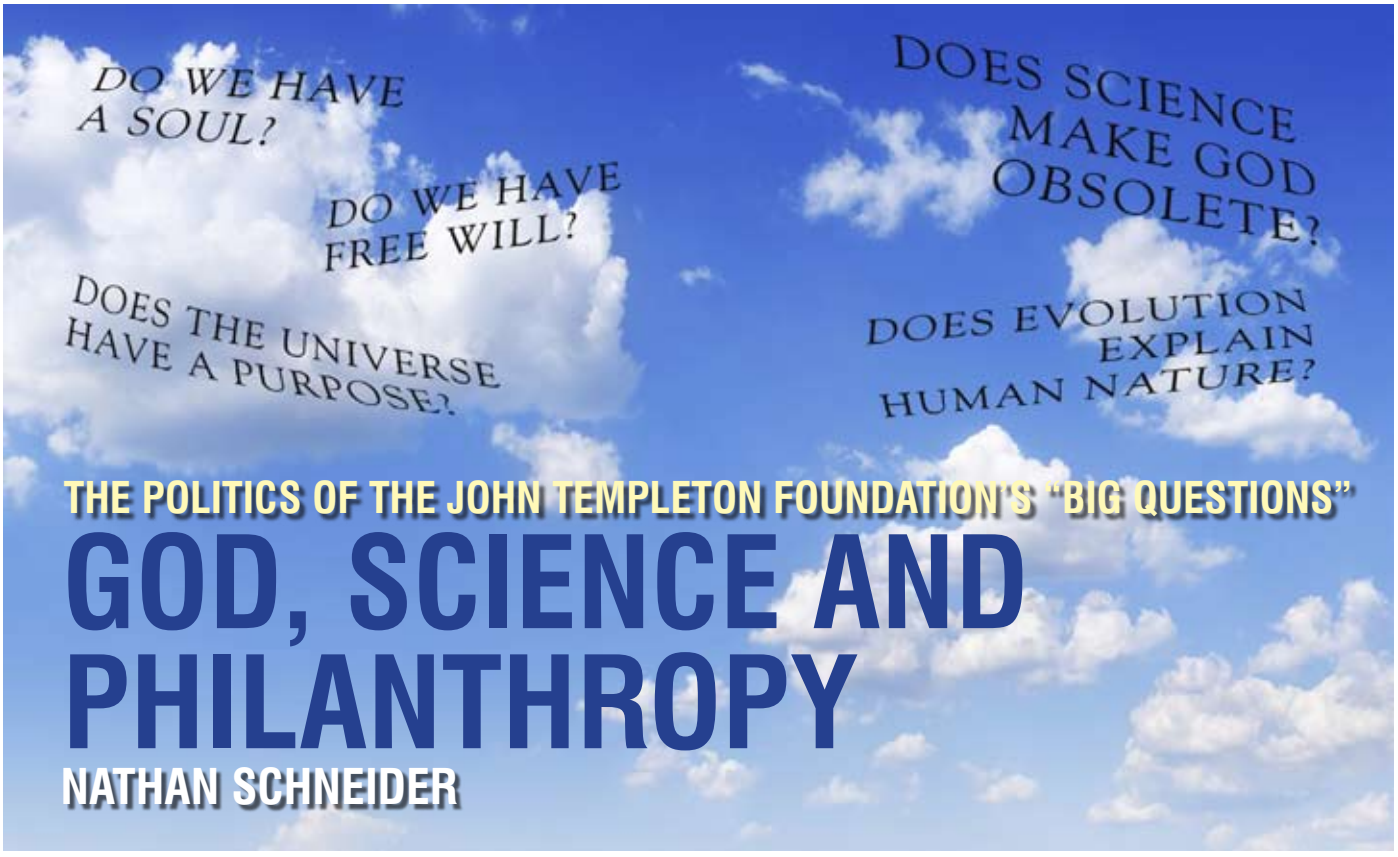
The president of the European Central Bank is appointed by democratically elected governments but is not accountable to them. The ECB publishes neither the minutes of its meetings nor its voting record and sets its inflation targets and interest rates without any democratic consultation. The European Parliament, the only directly elected component of the EU, cannot even initiate legislation, which explains why voter turnout in European Parliament elections has slumped by more than 30 percent in the past thirty years, with turnout last year at 43 percent. Whenever people vote no to a phase of integration—as Ireland did two years ago—the EU simply orders them to vote again until they produce the right result. Once they vote yes, there is no turning back.

In the good times most countries—with the exception of Denmark and the United Kingdom—traded democracy for prosperity and joined the euro. But in a crisis, that consensus of convenience breaks down, and there is no means of resolving disputes and deciding on a course of action. Whatever Americans think of the bailout or the stimulus package, their elected representatives have had their say. Many citizens protested; Congress members who displeased them have had to explain themselves. Given the influence of lobbyists and markets, one would not want to exaggerate the control the people have over their economic destiny. But, at least in the public arena, there is an aspiration to democracy.

In the EU, however, democracy is not always even a goal. So the essential problem is not that the Germans seek the kind of fiscal austerity that could stall a fragile recovery, or that the French prefer more stimulus, which might lead to inflation; it's that there is no democratic means of mediating that tension. Thus, instead of thrashing it out in an elected chamber the French and Germans bargain it out behind closed doors. Whatever deal they emerge with will not immediately affect the French and the Germans but the Spaniards, Greeks, Irish and Portuguese. Basically, it's the wealthy deciding how much austerity the poor should put up with.

In the run-up to the Greek elections eight months ago, George Papandreou said, "People are feeling more and more powerless, so we as Socialists, I think, need to say democracy is again at the center of our policies, giving the citizen a voice." Papandreou won, promising to make the rich pay more taxes, award above-inflation pay raises for government workers and provide more support for the low-paid and pensioners. Today he is slashing pensions, raising the retirement age and cutting civil servants' pay. The people feel more powerless; democracy has been cast out beyond the peripheries. And as for the voiceless citizens? For all the real decision-makers care, they can sing for their supper. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


DO WE HAVE A SOUL?
DO WE HAVE FREE WILL?
DOES THE UNIVERSE HAVE A PURPOSE?
DOES SCIENCE MAKE GOD OBSOLETE?
DOES EVOLUTION EXPLAIN HUMAN NATURE?

THE POLITICS OF THE JOHN TEMPLETON FOUNDATION'S "BIG QUESTIONS"

GOD, SCIENCE AND PHILANTHROPY

NATHAN SCHNEIDER

For decades, sociologist Margaret Poloma struggled against the tone-deafness to spirituality that rules her discipline; she wanted to study prayer, to measure divine love, to "see God as an actor." In the meantime, having held a tenured post at the University of Akron since 1970, she built a respectable career with a long list of journal articles and books to her name. She became an authority on Pentecostalism and on the family lives of modern women. But all along, Poloma says, "I felt like I was swimming alone upstream."

That changed in the early 1990s, when she found an ally in David Larson, a psychiatrist who longed to integrate religion into the practice of medicine. He was in the process of founding the National Institute for Healthcare Research (NIHR); what the National Institutes of Health (NIH) is to medicine writ large, the NIHR would be for "the forgotten factor" of faith. In 1995 Larson brought Poloma to a conference organized by his funder: the John Templeton Foundation, established by the eponymous investor who died in July 2008 at 95. "That conference was a magical experience for me," Poloma remembers. It was there that she met Stephen Post, a bioethicist who would later create the Institute for Research on Unlimited Love with Templeton money. With Post she began receiving grants from the foundation. By 2007 she was co-director of the Flame of Love Project, administering $2.3 million from Templeton to establish "a new interdisciplinary science of Godly Love," with a focus on the Pentecostal tradition.

Other scholars aren't quite sure what the "science of Godly Love" means, exactly. Anthea Butler, a historian of Pentecostalism at the University of Pennsylvania, remembers that when Poloma's Flame of Love request for proposals appeared, "nobody in the field could figure out what the hell she was talking about." Many applied anyway. "She went from being an outsider to someone with tons of money who can set the terms of discussion," says Butler.

"This grant is something I would never have dreamed of," Poloma told me. "I feel like I'm soaring like an eagle." For her, all gratitude is due to the funder. "Where but Templeton would you find that kind of dialogue going on?"

Nowhere—and that's what has some people so concerned. The kind of research Poloma and her colleagues propose, however empirical and peer-reviewed, seems to come as an affront to centuries of purported progress in disentangling natural science from supernatural belief. Depending on whom you ask, Templeton represents either the hijacking of nothing less than the meaning of life, or the restoration of its luster, which has been dulled by politics and cynicism.

Poloma's story repeats itself throughout the cluster of academic fields that the Templeton Foundation has chosen to flush with money. This past January $4.4 million went to a project on free will, headed by philosopher Alfred Mele at Florida State University. In a particularly arresting case, between 2006 and 2009 MIT physicist Max Tegmark received $8.8 million to set up the Foundational Questions Institute (with the dashing acronym FQXi), which funds first-rate scientists to explore basic problems about time, space and the origin of the universe. Its conferences have been "a coming-out-of-the-closet experience," says Tegmark. "Lots of people reconnect with the real reasons they started doing science in the first place."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Templeton has a history of seeding fields of study almost from scratch. After the foundation's initiative for research on forgiveness began in 1997, the number of psychology journal articles on the subject went from fewer than fifty per year to more than 100 in 2000 and nearly 250 in 2008. When Templeton first financed Larson's NIHR in the early 1990s, the number of medical schools with courses on religion could be counted on one latex glove. Now, according to Dr. Christina Puchalski of the Templeton-funded George Washington Institute for Spirituality and Health, three-quarters of US medical schools have brought spirituality into their curriculums.

What connects, say, unlimited love with string theory? According to the foundation, they are among life's "Big Questions," the exploration of which constitutes its mission. Templeton money supports other causes, like promoting virtue, encouraging gifted youth and fostering free enterprise, but its core concerns are more cosmic: "Does the universe have a purpose?" "Does science make belief in God obsolete?" "Does evolution explain human nature?" As the advance of knowledge becomes ever more specialized and remote, these questions seem as refreshing as they are intractable; the foundation wants them to be our culture's uniting, overriding focus. For those who work on matters of spirituality and science today, Templeton is around every turn, active in disciplines from biology and cosmology to philosophy and theology. Many leading scholars speak of it with a tone of caution; some who have not applied for grants expect to do so in the future, while a few have taken a principled stand against doing so.

Like debates about religion broadly, debates about Templeton often get mapped onto the culture wars in black and white, or red and blue. It doesn't help that the foundation is a longstanding donor to conservative think tanks like the Heritage Foundation and the Cato Institute. And while its founder preferred eternal questions to worldly politics, the son who has succeeded him, John Templeton Jr.—Jack—is a conservative Evangelical who spends his personal time and money opposing gay marriage and defending the Iraq War. Since his father's death, concerns have swirled among the foundation's grantees and critics alike that Jack Templeton will steer the foundation even further rightward and, perhaps, even further from respectable science.

The stakes are high. The Templeton Foundation holds assets valued at around $1 billion, a sum that will likely swell to $2.5 billion in the years to come as John Templeton Sr.'s estate is settled. That would put it squarely among the richest twenty-five foundations in the country, somewhere between the Rockefeller Foundation and the Open Society Institute. The foundation dispenses about $70 million in grants annually, the bulk of which goes to programs in the religion-and-science orbit, from an eight-year, $9.8 million grant to Duke University's Center for Spirituality, Theology and Health to $25,000 for a 2007 conference on Carl Linnaeus and religion in Sweden. For the often-fledgling, cash-strapped areas it funds, nothing else can compete.

But what makes the foundation more influential than its deep pockets is the combination of elite research and broad dissemination. As a memo signed by John Templeton in 1995 put it, "The main purpose of the John Templeton Foundation is to encourage the top 1/10 of 1% of people and thereby encourage all people to think that progress in spiritual information is possible, desirable, can be done and will be done." The "top 1/10 of 1%" part happens in projects like the Humble Approach Initiative, a series of high-level interdisciplinary seminars that since 1998 have covered topics such as "Universe or Multiverse?" and "Faith, Rationality, and the Passions." At each step, the foundation tries to keep a wider audience abreast. Along with advanced research, it funds public essay contests and lectures. A series of periodicals, including *In Character* and *Science & Spirit*, have tried to build readerships around Templeton's favorite topics—the former was even, for a time, sent to every member of Congress. The foundation supports the annual World Science Festival in New York and takes out lavish ads in magazines and newspapers to showcase handpicked intellectuals answering Big Questions about God, science and markets.

The founder's flagship program, though, is the Templeton Prize, usually handed out each year by Prince Philip at Buckingham Palace. The first went to Mother Teresa in 1973; this year's laureate is biologist and former Catholic priest Francisco Ayala. Winners have run the gamut from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to physicist Freeman Dyson. The award's value is consciously pegged to be bigger than that of the Nobel Prize.

The zoologist and author Richard Dawkins quipped in his 2006 book *The God Delusion* that the Templeton Prize goes "usually to a scientist who is prepared to say something nice about religion." He and others among the so-called New Atheists have been the foundation's most strident critics lately; they believe Templeton is corrupting science by trying to inject it with religious dogma and, in turn, misrepresent science to the public. The advance of science steamrolls over religion, they say, and Templeton is deluding people into thinking otherwise.

These are no minor charges. Recent years have witnessed political and religious campaigns to both undermine and co-opt scientific authority on matters ranging from climate change to sex education to evolution. Organizations like Answers in Genesis, which advocates for young-earth creationism, and the Discovery Institute, which orchestrates the intelligent-design movement, have been trying to squeeze creationism into public school science classes. Within this environment, Templeton has struggled to maintain a delicate balance between alarmed scientists on one side and its mission to bring religion into conversation with science on the other.

In the past the foundation has funded book projects related to intelligent design by theorists William Dembski and Guillermo Gonzalez, who were affiliated with the Discovery Institute when they received Templeton grant money. By then, though, Templeton had already begun funding a program that opposes creationism at the American Association for the Advancement

Nathan Schneider, senior editor of Killing the Buddha, *an online magazine of religion and culture, is working on a book about the search for proof of the existence of God. He lives in Brooklyn, New York.* *Research support for this article was provided by the Investigative Fund at The Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Contract

Finally, a cell phone that's… a phone!

"Well, I finally did it. I finally decided to enter the digital age and get a cell phone. My kids have been bugging me, my book group made fun of me, and the last straw was when my car broke down, and I was stuck by the highway for an hour before someone stopped to help. But when I went to the cell phone store, I almost changed my mind. The phones are so small I can't see the numbers, much less push the right one. They all have cameras, computers and a "global-positioning" something or other that's supposed to spot me from space. Goodness, all I want to do is to be able to talk to my grandkids! The people at the store weren't much help. They couldn't understand why someone wouldn't want a phone the size of a postage stamp. And the rate plans! They were complicated, confusing, and expensive… and the contract lasted for two years! I'd almost given up when a friend told me about her new Jitterbug phone. Now, I have the convenience and safety of being able to stay in touch… with a phone I can actually use."

Questions about Jitterbug?

Try our pre-recorded Toll-Free Hotline 1-877-748-6782.

The cell phone that's right for me. Sometimes I think the people who designed this phone and the rate plans had me in mind. The phone fits easily in my pocket, but it flips open and reaches from my mouth to my ear. The display is large and backlit, so I can actually see who is calling. With a push of a button I can amplify the volume, and if I don't know a number, I can simply push one for a friendly, helpful operator that will look it up and even dial it for me. The Jitterbug also reduces background noise, making the sound loud and clear. There's even a dial tone, so I know the phone is ready to use.

Affordable plans that I can understand – and no contract to sign! Unlike other cell phones, Jitterbug has plans that make sense. Why should I pay for minutes I'm never going to use? And if I do talk more than I plan, I won't find myself with no minutes like my friend who has a prepaid phone. Best of all, there is no contract to sign – so I'm not locked in for years at a time or subject to termination fees. The U.S. – based customer service is second to none, and the phone gets service virtually anywhere in the country.

Monthly Minutes	50	100
Monthly Rate	$14.99	$19.99
Operator Assistance	24/7	24/7
911 Access	FREE	FREE
Long Distance Calls	No add'l charge	No add'l charge
Voice Dial	FREE	FREE
Nationwide Coverage	Yes	Yes
Trial Period	30 days	30 days

Other plans available. Ask your Jitterbug expert for details.

FREE Gift

Order now and receive a free Car Charger. A $24 value!

100% U.S. Based Customer Service

Available in Red, White, and Graphite (shown).

Call now and get a FREE GIFT. Try Jitterbug for 30 days and if you don't love it, just return it. Why wait, the Jitterbug comes ready to use right out of the box. The phone comes preprogrammed with your favorite numbers, and if you aren't as happy with it as I am you can return it for a refund of the purchase price. Call now, the Jitterbug product experts are ready to answer your questions.

jitterbug® SAMSUNG

firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond®
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

Jitterbug Cell Phone
Call now for our lowest price.
Please mention promotional code 40362.
1-877-654-4138
www.jitterbugdirect.com

47436

IMPORTANT CONSUMER INFORMATION: All rate plans require the purchase of a Jitterbug phone and a one-time set up fee of $35.00. Coverage and service is not available everywhere. There are no additional fees to call Jitterbug's 24-hour U.S. Based Customer Service. However, for calls to an Operator in which a service is completed, minutes will be deducted from your monthly balance equal to the length of the call and any call connected by the Operator, plus an additional 5 minutes. Rate plans do not include government taxes or assessment surcharges. Prices and fees are subject to change. Savings are based on marketing materials from nationally available cellular companies as of June, 2010 (not including family share plans). The full price of the Jitterbug Phone will be refunded if it is returned within 30 days of purchase, in like-new condition, and with less than 30 minutes of usage. A Jitterbug Phone purchased from a retail location is subject to the return policy of that retail location. The Jitterbug phone is created together with worldwide leader Samsung. Jitterbug is a registered trademark of GreatCall, Inc. Samsung is a registered trademark of Samsung Electronics America, Inc. and its related entities. Copyright ©2010 GreatCall, Inc. Created together with worldwide leader Samsung. Copyright © 2010 by *first*STREET for Boomers and Beyond, Inc. All rights reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Science. "We do not believe that the science underpinning the intelligent-design movement is sound," wrote one foundation official in a 2007 letter to the *Los Angeles Times*. Templeton has since taken pains to promote evolutionary theory among Christians, such as through the BioLogos Foundation, which was headed by geneticist Francis Collins until President Obama appointed him director of NIH. Still, Templeton continues to find itself in murky waters; in May, for instance, it supported a conference celebrating the retirement of the eminent philosopher Alvin Plantinga, who also happens to have been a sometime ally of intelligent design.

Indeed, the larger the foundation becomes, the harder it is to pin down. "They've become fuzzier and fuzzier," says California Institute of Technology astronomer Sean Carroll, one of Templeton's more outspoken critics. Even Jeffrey Schloss, a Templeton trustee who is part of the new $10 million grant project on evolutionary biology based at Harvard, admits that without the foundation "there'd be a bit less accommodationist fluff that proposes integration [between religion and science] at the expense of rigor."

Richard Dawkins and other New Atheists say the Templeton Foundation corrupts science by injecting it with religious dogma.

Nonreligious scientists who accept Templeton grants—like biologist David Sloan Wilson and psychologist Jonathan Haidt—insist that the money comes without strings attached. "No coercion, no corruption," Haidt says. But Nobel Prize–winning chemist Harry Kroto won't accept that. "They are involved in an exercise that endangers the fundamental credibility of the scientific community," he contends. Kroto has taken to organized resistance; in 2007, when the Royal Society of London considered accepting Templeton money for one of its programs, he was among eleven fellows, five of them Nobel laureates, who successfully lobbied against the plan. Since a Templeton lecture series in 2004, the Royal Society hasn't worked with the foundation, though some fellows and its president, astrophysicist Martin Rees, have done so individually.

Now Dawkins and Kroto, with eight other advisory board members of Project Reason, founded by New Atheist author Sam Harris in 2007 to promote secularism, are at work on another offensive. Project Reason hired British science journalist Sunny Bains to investigate Templeton and build a case against it. Her unpublished findings include evidence of pervasive cronyism: more than half of the past dozen Templeton Prize winners were connected to the foundation before their win, and board members do well obtaining grant money and speaking gigs. Bains also argues that the true atheistic tendencies of leading scientists were misrepresented in the foundation's Big Questions advertisements. Templeton's mission, Bains concludes, is to promote religion, and its overtures to science are an insidious trick with the purpose of sneaking in God.

Though some critics refuse to go near anything associated with Templeton, others are forced by its ubiquity to make compromises. Sean Carroll, for one, will work only on scientific projects funded by Templeton (such as the FQXi) that aren't solely under the foundation's banner. "It represents a serious ethical dilemma," says A.C. Grayling, a British philosopher and former columnist for *New Scientist* magazine; he accuses the foundation of "borrowing respectability from science for religion."

These critiques have taken a toll on the Templeton brand. "I don't think Templeton money is dishonorable, and I have taken it myself," says Michael Ruse, a philosopher of science at Florida State University. But Ruse expresses relief that his latest book wasn't funded by any Templeton grants. "The whole business has become so politicized and open to attack by the New Atheists—they would claim that I am just a paid spokesman."

In response to its critics, the foundation cites the careful peer review process its projects go through and the integrity of the leading institutions with which it partners. "The goal is to insist that the scholarship that is done in theology and philosophy is scientifically informed, and that the research done on the scientific side is conceptually rigorous and clear," explains Michael Murray, a Templeton Foundation vice president. In many cases these protocols and elite affiliations are enough to persuade eminent scientists, like Rees and Carroll, to put aside their misgivings and participate in Templeton projects.

Still, few Templeton grantees are fully aware of the breadth of the foundation's activities, much less the quixotic vision of its founder, John Templeton—or, as friends of the foundation have called him since he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II in 1987, "Sir John."

In the foundation's boardroom, no one can hide from Sir John's gaze. His bust is mounted above the far end of a long meeting table, and his portrait hangs on a long wall. The offices are in one of a cluster of new towers scattered among industrial relics and hillside homes in West Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, fourteen miles up the Schuylkill River from downtown Philadelphia. There, away from the distractions of big-city political and intellectual life, John Templeton's legacy is meant to carry itself out, unadulterated. As the foundation grew larger, it became increasingly concerned that it not stray from the mission he gave it. By the time he died, an elaborate audit system had been put in place to ensure that his wishes would forever be its holy writ.

Templeton's own spirituality was eclectic. Though a lifelong Presbyterian, he imbibed the wisdom of religions both Eastern and Western, ranging from his friend Norman Vincent Peale, the prophet of the organization man, to Ramakrishna. Early on, his mother exposed him to the Unity School of Christianity, a turn-of-the-century movement that emphasized positive thinking and healing through prayer. The Unity School considered itself progressive and even, loosely speaking, scientific: a practical application of Christianity to modern life.

Out of his humble origins in small-town Tennessee, Templeton built a career as one of the great architects of globalization—"the dean of global investing," *Forbes* once dubbed him. As he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

grew older, though, his wealth ever multiplying, Templeton began turning his attention away from business. "All my life I was trying to help people get wealthy, and with a little success. But I never noticed it made them any happier," he told Charlie Rose in a 1997 interview. "Real wealth is not in money; it's in spiritual growth."

When Templeton created his foundation in the mid-'80s, conventional wisdom still largely held that religion would retreat as science secularized the world. But in Templeton's eyes, this made religion the perfect investment. "To get a bargain price," he would say, "you've got to look for where the public is most frightened and pessimistic." Religion's potential value far exceeded the asking price; a lot could be done with a little. Templeton would rhapsodize about science's amazing progress in virtually every area of knowledge over the past century—except in spirituality, which he believed had remained stagnant. "It is no small wonder, then," Templeton wrote in his manifesto, *The Humble Approach*, "that some people believe religion is gradually becoming obsolete." The answer he envisioned wasn't simply a louder, timelier enunciation of familiar doctrines but a new posture he called "humility theology," an outlook that emphasizes how little is known about the divine and how much believers need to question and test their beliefs, as scientists do. Templeton thought that science could get religions out of their rut.

Through his mostly self-published writings, Templeton developed an idiosyncratic vocabulary, speaking of the search for "spiritual information" and of God as "Unlimited Creative Spirit." But many of Templeton's books are less properly theological than they are well-meaning self-help texts with a metaphysical bent. Uneasy with conventional meanings for "God" and "religion," he speculated in a 1990 document that "maybe God is providing new revelations in ways which go beyond any religion." Concerning atheism, Templeton seems to have thought that if religion were more sophisticated, the line between belief and unbelief might disappear. He once mused, "Could even atheists, who deny the reality of a personal God, begin to worship fundamental reality or unlimited mind or unlimited love?"

At worst, Templeton could be called heterodox and naïve; at best, his was a mind more open than most, reflective of the most inventive and combinatorial strains of American religious thought, eager to radically reinterpret ancient wisdom and bring it up to speed with some version from the present.

In 1996 Charles Harper, a planetary scientist from Harvard and NASA with a graduate education in cosmology and theology from Oxford, joined the foundation as its executive director. A forceful—and by many accounts difficult—personality with a visionary streak, Harper shaped John Templeton's dream into a package of programs that could begin to look credible to the scientific community.

A decade later, phrases that Templeton used, like "spiritual realities," "progress in religion" and even the foundation's official motto, "How little we know, how eager to learn," were hiding behind a more presentable formula: "Supporting science, investing in the Big Questions." By no means, though, was the spiritual sidelined under Harper's leadership. "Rigorous, advanced research in science in certain areas," he wrote me, "can be supported and engaged as a form of theologically-significant research adventure." Harper shared with his boss the hope of making questions of faith part of the scientific conversation, and for years they funded innovative ways of doing so.

But in May 2009, less than a year after Templeton's death, Harper was fired. Those at the foundation are reluctant to explain why; Harvard astronomer and longtime advisory board member Owen Gingerich attributes it to "a difference of opinion about who could best understand Sir John's intentions" between Harper and Jack Templeton. Above all, "there was a clash of personalities."

Jack Templeton is little like his father. While the elder Templeton's writings venture into the poetic and speculative, his son's read like a medical report. Jack displays admirable filial loyalty, evident most of all in his decades-long leadership of the foundation under his father's guidance; he has been president since it began, serving full time since he left a successful pediatric surgery practice in 1995. His memoir begins and ends with lessons his father taught him and is suffused by, as he put it, "a struggle to find acceptance and approval in my father's eyes."

Jack Templeton, the founder's heir, has funded the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth and gave more than $1 million to support California's Prop 8.

Only now, though, are we beginning to learn how that struggle will express itself in his father's absence. With Harper gone, and his replacement yet to be announced, there is a vacuum at the top. It is, says physicist and trustee Paul Davies, "an anxious time." What seems to have people there most on edge right now, though, is not so much science as politics. In this respect too, the younger Templeton differs in kind from his father. He has financed a right-wing organization of his own, Let Freedom Ring, which once promoted the "Templeton Curve," a graph he designed to advocate privatizing Social Security. Now Let Freedom Ring lends support to the Tea Party movement. Jack Templeton's money has also gone to the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth and to ads by the neoconservative group Freedom's Watch. In 2008 he and his wife gave more than $1 million to support California's Proposition 8, which banned same-sex marriage.

According to his lifelong friend Jay Norwalk, Templeton "is exceedingly scrupulous about keeping his personal life separate from the foundation." By most accounts, this has been the case. Physicist Karl Giberson, a self-described liberal who has been a close collaborator on various foundation projects, adds, "To me, Jack Templeton represents the way you want conservatives to be." (Jack Templeton declined requests for an interview, and the foundation's chief external affairs officer, Gary Rosen, a former editor at *Commentary*, instructed foundation leadership to conduct interviews with *The Nation* only in writing.)

"Conservative," though, hardly encompasses what the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE (or Comcast). Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all–too–private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this very low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.

Gloria Steinem is a longstanding **Nation** *reader.*

SUBSCRIBE NOW
WWW.THENATION.COM/TRIAL-RATE
800-333-8536

(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a Nation editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

LICENSED TO UU.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Templeton Foundation is about. The founder's relationship to the notion was especially paradoxical; in *The Humble Approach*, Templeton writes, "Rarely does a conservative become a hero of history." Although Templeton could be nostalgic, harking back to time-tested values and homespun sayings, he wanted above all to move the world forward, not hold it back. Yet he was, in political parlance, a conservative: a voting (and donating) small-government, probusiness Republican. More George H.W. than Dubya, his values bear little resemblance to the sex-centered prohibitions of today's religious right. His foundation's charter speaks instead of "love," "forgiveness," "generosity," "creativity," "thrift" and "awe."

John Templeton once told Harper that he read only the news in the paper, never the editorials; the fray of partisanship and policy didn't interest him. He wanted to keep his foundation away from party politics, just as he kept its offices away from downtown philanthropic circles. He loved undertakings, like a mission to the moon or a mutual fund, that would unite people around a common transcendent purpose.

In the minds of some, he succeeded. Conservative Christian columnist and blogger Rod Dreher, upon beginning his new job as the foundation's director of publications at the start of this year, had a revelation. "I didn't realize how burned out with and depressed by politics I had become," he wrote me. Working at the Templeton Foundation, he believes, gave him a chance to grow in a way that political editorializing would never allow. "I've become ever more convinced that the more important questions facing us are cultural, not political," Dreher explains.

Templeton has long maintained relationships with a network of right-wing organizations that share its interest in open markets, entrepreneurship and philanthropy. The Heritage Foundation, for instance, received more than $1 million between 2005 and 2008, and the Cato Institute, more than $200,000 in the same period. Templeton's charter stipulates that the chief executives of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation and the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty are entitled to be members of the foundation, and both have received hundreds of thousands of dollars in Templeton grants in recent years. Those organizations also receive contributions from Big Oil and take part in the campaign to distort the scientific consensus on global warming.

Exceptions to the rightward trend abound: psychologist and Templeton trustee David Myers penned *What God Has Joined Together: The Christian Case for Gay Marriage*; just last year the foundation treated the Marxist literary theorist Terry Eagleton to a Templeton Book Forum event at the Harvard Club in New York—the list goes on. Grants to conservative think tanks are a comparatively minor part of the foundation's overall giving, but they send a strong signal nonetheless. "There is no getting around the fact," declared a glowing 2007 *National Review* article, "that it [Templeton] has quickly become a major force in conservative philanthropy."

This is even more the case today. Jack Templeton announced, in the 2008 Capabilities Report, a "fresh endeavor" on free enterprise, the area of the foundation's work closest to his own predilections. Mauro De Lorenzo, hired as a vice president to lead the initiative, still retains a post at the neoconservative American Enterprise Institute (AEI), which Templeton has also funded. When I asked him about the foundation's think tank portfolio, De Lorenzo said, "We would be delighted to fund work at so-called left-of-center think tanks, so long as it meets the donor intent." That they haven't funded such organizations yet, he continued, is just a matter of "not knowing each other."

There is another glaring omission in Templeton's funding record: the foundation has yet to break ground on one of the six principal causes that John Templeton stipulated—education about voluntary family planning. Gary Rosen explains that this program "is still in development" though it has been in the charter for more than a decade. It is also an area where the foundation's mission could come into tension with its political and religious allies.

Treading carefully over such theologically fraught ground is a practice that goes back to the founder. His writings might have been iconoclastic, but his deeds were mainly establishmentarian, keeping him in good standing with the religious powers that be. Templeton money has supported a wide range of pious causes, from the American Bible Society to awards for "wholesome" filmmaking (including, controversially, *The Passion of the Christ*). Templeton Prizes have gone to evangelists Billy Graham and Bill Bright, as well as Watergate conspirator turned Evangelical activist Charles Colson and AEI theologian Michael Novak.

John Templeton built a place where the right's hardened partisans, like Dreher and Rosen, can settle down and turn to life's real Big Questions, in peace, for all mankind. But the foundation meanwhile has associated itself with political and religious forces that cause it to be perceived as threatening the integrity of science and protecting the religious status quo. This is quite the reverse of the founder's most alluring hope: a spirituality finally worthy of our scientific achievements. As a result of such alliances, though, the foundation is also better positioned than most to foster a conservatism—and a culture generally—that holds the old habits of religions and business responsible to good evidence, while helping scientists better speak to people's deepest concerns. On issues that range from climatology to stem cells, science has too often taken a back seat to the whims of politics, and Templeton's peculiar vision offers a welcome antidote to that. To live up to this calling, Big Questions are one thing; but the foundation will have to stand up for tough answers, too, as it did when announcing the findings of a major study that intercessory prayer doesn't improve medical outcomes, or when rebuking intelligent design.

John Templeton did want to hijack the meaning of life; he meant to remake the human race's moral and cosmic toolbox in some scientific revolution of the spirit. His money has given new life to ancient questions that matter to all of us. But there is also an inescapable curiosity—or for some, like Margaret Poloma, good luck—in the idea that how we think about the most lofty things has become so much at the mercy of an eccentric investor's later-life dreams. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Next Drilling Disaster?

Unregulated natural gas drilling could wreak havoc on the environment and human health.

by KARA CUSOLITO

A tour of Dimock, Pennsylvania, with Victoria Switzer is a bumpy ride over torn-up roads, around parking lots filled with heavy machinery and storage tanks, and past well pads that not long ago were forests. The winter here was quiet, but with the thawing ground came the return of the rigs, the trucks, the constant noise and lights of a twenty-four-hour-a-day gas drilling operation. "It's a modern-day Deadwood out here," Switzer says, likening the activity to the gold rush. "No rules, no regs, just rigs."

The "occupation," as she calls it, hasn't just transformed Dimock into an industrial hub; it has also damaged the local water supply and put residents' health at risk. After a stray drill bit banged four wells in 2008, Switzer says, weird things started happening to people's water: some flushed black, some orange, some turned bubbly. One well exploded, the result of methane migration, and residents say elevated metal and toluene levels have ruined twelve others. Then, in September 2009, about 8,000 gallons of hazardous drilling fluids spilled into nearby fields and creeks. The contamination and related health problems have prompted fifteen families to file suit against Cabot Oil and Gas, the primary leaseholder in the area, alleging fraud and contract violation and seeking to stop the damage from spreading.

If she could do it all over again, Switzer says, she never would have signed the 2006 drilling lease that helped open Pandora's Box here. But at the time, she'd never heard of hydrofracking—the Cabot representative didn't mention the word to her when he gained the rights to drill on her land. The story of gas drilling in Dimock begins more than a mile below the earth's surface in the Marcellus Shale, a huge rock formation that extends from New York to Tennessee. Some geologists estimate that the Marcellus contains enough shale gas to power the United States for two decades. But the gas is caught in millions of tiny pores and can be extracted only through hydraulic fracturing, or hydrofracking, a controversial process that requires blasting millions of gallons of water, sand and toxic chemicals deep underground to create fissures that open the pores and free gas to rise to the surface.

Hydrofracking is a hugely lucrative and rapidly expanding industry—the consulting firm PFC Energy recently reported that shale gas production accounts for about 10 percent of US natural gas production, up from 1 percent in 2000. It is bolstered not only by a powerful lobby but also by growing awareness of the threats posed by climate change and America's dependence on foreign oil. In recent years, a broad coalition of energy analysts and government officials have embraced domestic natural gas as a promising "bridge fuel" that could help smooth the transition from more carbon-intensive fossil fuels like oil and coal to renewable energy sources like solar and wind. The catch, though, is that the natural gas industry shares the same history as other energy industries operating in the United States. A string of recent disasters—including the TVA coal ash spill, the Massey coal mine explosion and the Deepwater Horizon oil spill—have demonstrated all too vividly that failure to regulate and oversee resource extraction can lead to catastrophe. Some fear that Dimock is the first natural gas casualty, an early warning of what could happen on a much larger scale if fracking spreads unchecked to other residential areas in the Marcellus region and across the country.

KEITH SRAKOCIC/AP PHOTO

A drilling rig used to extract natural gas from the Marcellus Shale in Houston, Pennsylvania

For a long time, shale gas was thought to be unattainable. But in the 1990s, first in Texas and later in other Western states, new drilling techniques, sophisticated technology and industry exemptions from environmental laws paved the way for economically viable fracking. Many of those exemptions—from provisions in the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, the Superfund Act and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act—are longstanding. The most notable among them was introduced by Vice President Dick Cheney as an amendment to the 2005 energy bill. The so-called Halliburton Loophole, named after Cheney's former employer and the company that pioneered the fracking process in the 1940s, stripped the EPA's authority to regulate hydrofracking through the Safe Water Drinking Act. Companies were essentially given free rein to drill however and wherever they see fit, and to use and dispose of proprietary fracking fluids without any disclosure or safety requirements. The only remaining shred of federal oversight

Kara Cusolito is a freelance writer based in Ithaca, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Understand the Forces of the Universe

with this Fascinating, 12-lecture DVD Course by a Leading Astronomer and Professor

What forces molded the universe? Are those forces still at work, removing, changing, or adding heavenly bodies even as we gaze upward? Will humanity, and Earth itself, one day be gone? Are we alone?

In an era when science journalism is perhaps more thorough and ambitious than ever before, fascinating explorations of questions like these seem available to us almost every day—provided we have a working understanding of the scientific theories on which they're based.

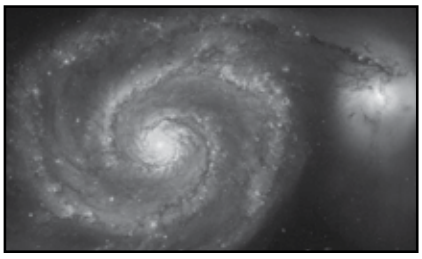
In this lecture series, the astrophysicist who directs the nation's most famous planetarium makes that understanding available to anyone. **My Favorite Universe** is a spirited and intellectually engaging journey through the cosmos and its history, from before the Big Bang to the likely ways in which Earth, and perhaps the entire universe, might end.

An Accessible Yet Awe-Inspiring Course

A natural teacher with a Ph.D. in astrophysics from Columbia University, Dr. Neil deGrasse Tyson has written prolifically for the public, including the series of essays in *Natural History* magazine on which this course is based. And though it was created for a lay audience and is readily accessible, the course is one in which science always takes precedence over drama.

It is certainly entertaining, often funny, even awe-inspiring at times, as befits the subject matter. But clear introductions to essential principles of physics abound throughout these lectures, including density, quantum theory, gravity, and even the General Theory of Relativity. And Dr. Tyson also includes forays into disciplines such as chemistry and biology as needed to explain events.

For example, Dr. Tyson begins one lecture at a point 13 billion years ago, when all space, matter, and energy in the known universe was contained in a volume less than one-trillionth the size of a pinpoint—about the size of an atom. By the time he finishes, the cosmos has



NASA, ESA, S. Beckwith (STScI), and The Hubble Heritage Team (STScI/AURA).

The Whirlpool Galaxy, as seen by the Hubble Space Telescope, is about 25 million light-years away from us.

been stretched, the planets and Earth formed, and 70 percent of Earth species wiped out by a gigantic asteroid—clearing the way for the evolution of humanity.

As Dr. Tyson notes, we are made of stardust, just as the planets are. And he has created a course that explains exactly how that came to be, beginning with a grounding in the basic "machinery" of matter, forces, and energy which reveals itself throughout the universe.

The Stark and Violent Beauty of the Universe

With this basic foundation in place, explanations of cosmic events fall into place, and realities of the universe are revealed in stark and often violent beauty.

We learn how Saturn's rings were formed, and why they will eventually be lost. Why low-density conditions are necessary to produce the drama of the northern and southern auroras. How black holes are formed and can wreak havoc. Why planets are round and asteroids are not.

We explore how asteroids moving through space represent threats of extraordinary consequence to Earth. Why the seemingly infinite panorama of celestial bodies revealed by the Hubble Space Telescope's famous "Deep Field" so intrigue astronomers. Why odds seem overwhelmingly in favor of some kind of life out there.

About The Teaching Company®

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses®.

We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 3,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1. On Being Round
2. On Being Rarefied
3. On Being Dense
4. Death by Black Hole
5. Ends of the World
6. Coming Attractions
7. Onward to the Edge
8. In Defense of the Big Bang
9. The Greatest Story Ever Told
10. Forged in the Stars
11. The Search for Planets
12. The Search for Life in the Universe

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2 pm eastern time ship that same day. Order before July 10, 2010, to receive these savings.

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

SAVE $160!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JULY 10, 2010

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/6ntn

The Great Courses®
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 39331

Please send me **My Favorite Universe,** which consists of twelve 30-minute lectures plus a Course Guidebook.

☐ **DVD $39.95** (std. price $199.95) **SAVE $160!**
plus $5 shipping, processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed**
Special price for shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee—this offer only.

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. For more details, call us or visit the FAQ page on our website.

** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/6ntn
Offer Good Through: July 10, 2010

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was a voluntary agreement with the three largest companies not to use diesel fuel—which they proceeded to ignore.

Drilling is now regulated entirely at the state level, where there is not nearly enough manpower to handle the volume of wells. In 2008 thirty-five inspectors were responsible for more than 74,000 wells in Pennsylvania (with promises to hire sixty-eight more as Marcellus drilling grows); nineteen inspectors covered more than 13,000 wells in New York; and twenty-four oversaw more than 64,000 wells in Ohio.

With staff stretched so thin, it's nearly impossible to get the job done well, says Dusty Horwitt, a senior counsel for the Environmental Working Group. In January Horwitt released a study warning that regulators in several drill states—including Pennsylvania and New York—don't check to see if companies are using diesel or other harmful distillates. He also found that many state EPA officials are unclear on the stipulations surrounding fracking regulation. In many cases, the report estimates, the concentration of petroleum distillates used in a single well could be enough to contaminate 650 million gallons of water—the same amount consumed daily by New York City residents. In a worst-case scenario, the amount of distillates in a well could be enough to pollute more than 10 billion gallons of water.

One study estimated that the concentration of distillates used in a single well could be enough to contaminate 650 million gallons of water.

Keeping track of the materials used in fracking is crucial, says Theo Colborn, a Colorado-based endocrinologist who monitors the impact of industrial chemicals on human health. "It's the same kind of very high-tech stuff that we use in airplanes," she explains. "If we didn't use some very dangerous stuff in airplanes, as hydraulic fluids to reduce friction, we wouldn't be flying." Colborn has been researching hydrofracking operations since 2004. Of the 246 products on a partial list of drilling and fracking chemicals used in Colorado, obtained with help from the Oil and Gas Accountability Project, she found that 228 have at least one adverse health effect. Most are known to have multiple negative health impacts, and many are endocrine disruptors, which cause developmental, reproductive and neurological harm. She also found diesel and benzene, which is a carcinogen and is toxic at very low levels.

When a well is fracked—each well is generally fracked up to ten times—between 15 and 40 percent of the mix flows back to the surface. Companies operating in the Marcellus, which is naturally radioactive, must find a way to dispose of thousands of gallons of water, toxic chemicals, brine and radium. There are several ways things can go wrong, Horwitt says. Fluids can be spilled during transport, they can travel underground through natural or man-made fractures, or they can contaminate nearby areas if they're not stored properly.

There are many ways to dispose of the stuff: injection wells, evaporation pits, wastewater treatment plants and dumping, which are allowed by industry exemptions from environmental laws. Companies choose which method to use based on the amount of waste they have and the resources available, says Lee Fuller, a top lobbyist for the Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA).

Injection wells, which were recently linked as a possible cause of minor earthquakes in fracking towns along the Texas Barnett Shale, aren't being used in Dimock, according to Switzer. But she says that companies dump waste into creeks and ponds, or into pits lined with thin plastic. Pits that are not lined will eventually leach into groundwater, and pits that are lined can easily tear, leak and have the same effect, says Colborn. Even those that are properly sealed can still release dangerous gases into the air. In recent years, she explains, hydrofracking in Wyoming has raised ozone levels, which can lead to serious respiratory problems. A resident-funded health survey and air quality study in the tiny drilling town of Dish, Texas, revealed dangerously high levels of benzene, toluene and xylene in the air.

Walter Hang, a toxicologist who runs a web-based toxics mapping company in Ithaca, New York, worries that the current infrastructure can't handle the scale of these operations. "Anytime you have industrial activity, you're going to have problems—there's no way around it," he says. "You have tremendous volumes of wastewater, you have thousands of truck trips, and it's really heavy-duty." Hydrofracking requires millions of gallons of chemically treated water to be on site at all times. And wastewater plants can't handle fracking fluids properly, says Hang, because there is such a high concentration of chemicals and radioactivity.

In an effort to prevent their communities from becoming the next Dimock or Dish, New York state officials have held off on opening the Marcellus to drilling, pending a review. Late last year, the state's Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) released a draft environmental impact statement, which aimed to supplement drilling regulations that have been in place since 1992. The two-month public comment period drew about 14,000 comments, including some from the EPA, the Natural Resources Defense Council and elected officials. Comments are still under review, and a final version of the draft will likely be released in the fall.

The issue is of particular concern to residents in New York City and Syracuse, two of a small number of US cities with a special permit to provide unfiltered surface water for drinking. Drilling in upstate watersheds could place the cities' water supplies at risk and create the need to build billion-dollar water treatment plants. In April the DEC announced that any Marcellus drill permits within the New York City and Skaneateles Lake (Syracuse) watersheds will undergo a separate, far more rigorous environmental review.

It's a step in the right direction, says State Senator Tom Duane, but it's a potentially divisive move for New York. As Duane sees it, residents of New York City and Syracuse are protected from the stress and destruction of hydrofracking, but those in rural upstate areas remain vulnerable.

Duane and State Assembly member James Brennan intro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duced twin bills earlier in the year that seek to put a two-year hold on issuing permits and ban drilling within certain distances to drinking water supplies. It's his mission, Duane says, to deter—if not ban—drilling in the state, as any revenues from drilling would quickly be eaten up by road repair and other costs. "I don't believe that there's a way to safely do hydraulic fracturing," he says. "I'm skeptical that you could ever find a way, but I don't want to say that it's impossible."

Similar concerns have been bubbling up at the federal level. Last summer Colorado Democratic Representatives Diana DeGette and Jared Polis, along with New York Democrat Maurice Hinchey, introduced the Fracturing Responsibility and Awareness of Chemicals (FRAC) Act, which aims to close the Halliburton Loophole and revive the EPA's power to regulate or prohibit fracking fluids. Pennsylvania Democrat Bob Casey signed on as the Senate sponsor. After the twin bills were introduced, they were sent to California Democrat Henry Waxman, chair of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, who opened an investigation in February. On Hinchey's request, the EPA launched its own investigation. (New York State Assembly member Steven Englebright introduced a bill in April to ban hydrofracking in the state until the EPA finishes its study.)

The federal push to regulate hydrofracking may have gotten an unexpected boost in the wake of the Deepwater Horizon explosion. "The situation in the Gulf of Mexico is a grave reminder of the dangers posed by energy extraction," Casey says. "Natural gas drilling in Marcellus Shale in Pennsylvania has the potential to be a great economic boon for the Commonwealth. But we must take the proper steps to make sure it is done in a way that benefits Pennsylvanians and protects drinking water. Pennsylvania can reap the benefits and not be left with the burden on our infrastructure, health and safety." Hinchey agrees that the offshore oil spill should prompt legislators to pay more attention to drilling on land. "Drilling is important, the production of energy materials is important," he says. "But it's also critically important that it be done carefully and effectively in ways that are not going to be harmful."

Can fracking be done safely and justly? Hinchey says yes—as long as it's properly regulated. In keeping with that stance, the Kerry-Lieberman American Power Act does not call for an outright ban on hydrofracking. But the much-anticipated climate change bill, introduced on May 12 against the grim backdrop of the BP disaster, does include tough language calling on drilling companies to divulge fracking chemicals.

Fuller, of the IPAA, says disclosing chemicals would not keep people or the environment any safer. He says groundwater is protected through the construction of cement casings around wells, which close it off from the methane and the fracking fluids flowing through the well. "The assertion that you cannot protect the environment and fracture natural gas wells is totally inconsistent with the reality," he says. "The well construction process is what really protects groundwater, and it is a very effective process."

But in Dimock, proper well casings didn't stop 8,000 gallons of fracking fluid from spilling onto a local farm. And that Dimock well explosion? The Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Protection (DEP) determined that improper well casing was to blame. It's not an isolated incident: improper well casing was also at fault in a 2007 explosion in Bainbridge, Ohio, that blew a house off its foundation and left yet another neighborhood without drinking water.

For months after the Dimock drilling error rendered wells unusable, Cabot Oil and Gas denied any connection to the contamination, and in March the DEP determined that hydrofracking was not at fault. It's a technicality that drilling companies and lobbyist groups commonly use to dodge accountability, and they have a point. In many instances, it's not the physical act of fracturing that contaminates the well—all the more reason, advocates argue, to put the entire process under closer scrutiny.

If fracking is here to stay, as some argue, then more effort should be made to minimize the harm it can cause. There are ways to frack using nontoxic chemicals and even air, for example, which would pose less risk to drinking water. That's a start, but it wouldn't solve the problems of fossil fuel output, pollution or the presence of wells and compressor stations up to 100 feet from homes. Nor would it address compulsory integration and mandatory pooling, which in New York and Ohio allow companies to drill beneath an unsigned person's land if his or her neighbors have all signed leases. The Halliburton Loophole is not the only one that needs to be closed.

If hydraulic fracturing is here to stay, as some argue, then more effort should be made to minimize the harm it can cause.

For Switzer, the fight to protect her community has become a full-time job. She's given that bumpy tour around Dimock to Dish Mayor Calvin Tillman, grassroots organizers and DEP officials, and she has testified in Pennsylvania Senate hearings. She's not alone in her quest. Citizen action groups have popped up all over the Marcellus region, including the Shaleshock Action Alliance and the Pennsylvania-based Damascus Citizens for Sustainability, and around the country. On May 26 As You Sow, a shareholder advocacy organization representing the Park Foundation of Ithaca, won support from a surprising 26 percent of shares at ExxonMobil's annual meeting for a proposal that would have required the company to disclose its efforts to reduce risks from natural gas drilling. "The Gulf oil spill is a powerful example of how oil and gas drilling can devastate the environment," Park Foundation executive director Jon Jensen wrote in a statement. "This is a good first step in responsibly seeking energy in a way that protects the environment, human health, and the welfare of the company."

Switzer says that at the very least, there should be a national moratorium on drilling while the federal investigations are being conducted. But even if regulations are ultimately implemented, she says, Dimock is already a casualty. It was the first, she says, but it may not be the last. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brace Yourself: Good News on Africa

A recent economic study rejects the conventional depiction of the continent as a basket case.

by KAREN ROTHMYER

Nairobi

When United Nations member countries meet in New York in September to review progress toward meeting the 2015 Millennium Development Goals, it's a safe bet that one conclusion they'll reach is that Africa is failing miserably. In an April interview with South Africa's News24, UN official Osten Chulu said that on the goal of halving extreme poverty, the world as a whole is doing reasonably well, "but Africa, especially the sub-Saharan region, is seriously lagging behind."

CAITLIN DOVER

Sitting here in Kenya, I find it hard to believe that the situation is really as grim as portrayed by the UN, the World Bank and most of the NGO crowd. OK, maybe the rapid growth of Nairobi shopping malls, complete with fake waterfalls and expensive dress shops, is mainly a middle-class phenomenon. But whenever I travel in the countryside I am equally struck by the fact that so many rural women sport stylish braids or other hair designs—a far cry from the simple head scarves of forty years ago.

So I was very excited a couple of months ago when I read a Reuters story about a new study by two academics, Xavier Sala-i-Martin, a Catalan economist who teaches at Columbia, and Maxim Pinkovskiy, an MIT doctoral student, titled "African Poverty Is Falling… Much Faster Than You Think!" In the paper, published under the auspices of the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER, the sober outfit that decrees when recessions have begun and ended), the two argue that "the conventional wisdom that Africa is not reducing poverty is wrong.… In fact, since 1995, African poverty has been falling steadily." The reductions have occurred, Sala-i-Martin and Pinkovskiy report, in all types of countries and all regions. Moreover, economic growth hasn't benefited only the elites; inequality within countries has declined throughout the continent.

For several days after reading the Reuters piece, I checked the Internet to see how other major news organizations, especially those in the United States and Britain, would follow Reuters's lead. Given the media's appetite for provocative news from the world of science and health—whether on how fast the polar ice caps are melting or the value of drinking a glass of wine a day—I assumed that sooner or later everyone would want to report on this latest case of man-bites-dog. But apart from mentions in a couple of blogs and one piece in the *Guardian*, there was hardly a squeak. (I did find some earlier references to a possible fall in African poverty, but none so definitive or high-profile as the Sala-i-Martin and Pinkovskiy paper.)

My efforts to discover why this was so led me eventually to the Nairobi office of Professor Michael Chege, a Berkeley-trained economist who is a Kenyan government adviser on international development policy. "I can't fault the methods" used in the paper, Chege told me (although he noted that the standard international data on which virtually all researchers depend isn't that good to begin with). And, he said, the conclusions are in accord with the results of Kenya's own poverty surveys.

But in a world in which the conventional wisdom that Africa is a basket case is so strong, it's hard to break through. The Sala-i-Martin/Pinkovskiy paper "is going to produce a storm, but unfortunately it will be just among the academic types," Chege predicted. So far, it has been more of a mild breeze than a storm, but Chege was right in foreseeing that the study wouldn't get much attention beyond the world of professional economists. Probably the most prominent of those who responded was Martin Ravallion, director of the Development Research Group at the World Bank, one of the institutions cited by Sala-i-Martin and Pinkovskiy as having a gloomy view of Africa. Ravallion wrote a dismissive blog post on the World Bank site, noting that owing to population growth, even if poverty rates have fallen, which he said his own research showed, the actual number of poor people has not. The business world was more receptive. Razia Khan, head of macroeconomic research at Standard Chartered Bank in Britain, referred to the paper in a May report predicting that foreign investment in Africa is "likely to rise significantly from current levels." I found the Khan report particularly interesting, coming as it did soon after Actis, a Britain-based private equity firm, announced it would put $1 billion into African investments ranging from consumer goods to financial services in order to cater to the continent's growing middle class.

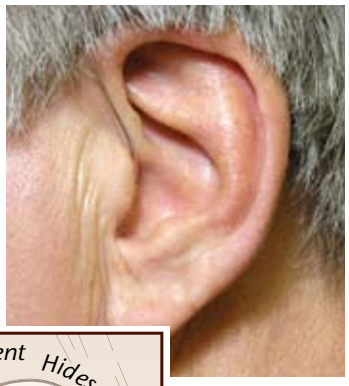
So just where does what Khan refers to as "Afro-pessimism" come from? "There is a vested interest in keeping the aid industry going," Chege said. "You have people in government who have an addiction to this money, and you have all these organizations and people like UNDP [the UN Development Programme] and Jeffrey Sachs who have an interest in projecting things in negative terms. If things are OK, you are destroying their careers; you're going at their jobs."

If that sounds like conspiracy thinking, it's not just Africans who are members of the cabal. New York University economics professor William Easterly, author of *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, wrote a paper published in *World Development* in

Karen Rothmyer (karen.rothmyer@gmail.com), a fellow of The Nation Institute, teaches at the University of Nairobi.

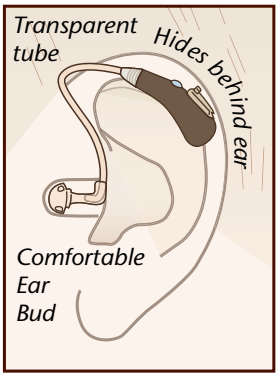
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pioneering audiologist invents "reading glasses" for your ears.



Neutronic Ear is the easy, virtually invisible and affordable way to turn up the sound on the world around you.

You don't have to pay through the nose to get Personal Sound Amplification Technology.



- *Hard to see*
- *Simple to use*
- *Easy to afford*

It's amazing how technology has changed the way we live. Since the end of the Second World War, more products have been invented than in all of recorded history. After WWII came the invention of the microwave oven, the pocket calculator, and the first wearable hearing aid. While the first two have gotten smaller and more affordable, hearing aids haven't changed much. Now there's an alternative… Neutronic Ear.

First of all, Neutronic Ear is not a hearing aid; it is a PSAP, or Personal Sound Amplification Product. Until PSAPs, everyone was required to see the doctor, have hearing tests, have fitting appointments (numerous visits) and then pay for the instruments without any insurance coverage. These devices can cost up to $5000 each! The high cost and inconvenience drove an innovative scientist to develop the Neutronic Ear PSAP.

Neutronic Ear has been designed with the finest micro-digital electronic components available to offer superb performance and years of use. Many years of engineering and development have created a product that's ready to use right out of the box. The patented case design and unique clear tube make it practical and easy to use. The entire unit weighs only 1/10th of an ounce, and it hides comfortably behind either ear. The tube is designed to deliver clear crisp sound while leaving the ear canal open. The electronic components are safe from moisture and wax buildup, and you won't feel like you have a circus peanut jammed in your ear. Thanks to a state-of-the-art manufacturing process and superior design, we can make Neutronic Ear affordable and pass the savings on to you.

Just think of the places you'll enjoy Neutronic Ear

Parties • Restaurants
Church • Lectures
Book Groups • Movies
Bird-watching and
almost any daily activity

It works… but don't take our word for it. Why pay thousands to make everything sound louder when what you really need is a Personal Sound Amplification Product? We're so sure you'll be absolutely thrilled with the quality and effectiveness of this product that we are offering it to the public at a low introductory price with our exclusive trial offer. If, for any reason, you are not completely amazed by how this product improves your life, simply return it for a "No Questions Asked" refund of the product purchase price within 30 days. Call now.

The Evolution of Hearing Products

Invention	Date	Easy to Use?	Invisible?	Affordable?
The Ear Horn	17th Century	No	Hardly	Maybe
Wearable Hearing Aid	1935	weighed 2.5 pounds	No	No
Digital Hearing Aid	1984	No	No	Not for most people
Neutronic Ear	2010	Yes	Yes	Yes

Visit us on the web at
www.neutronicear.com

NeutronicEar™
The Sound Decision™

Call now for the lowest price ever.

Please mention promotional code 40365.

1-877-509-2602

Neutronic Ear is not a hearing aid.
If you believe you need a hearing aid, please consult a physician

80099

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

early 2008 in which he argued that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) had been deliberately set up in such a way that African countries could not possibly meet them. As one example he cited the first goal of reducing by half the poverty rate between 1990 and 2015. To achieve the goal, he wrote, all of Africa would have to achieve 7 percent annual growth over a decade—something that only one in ten countries in the world achieved in any decade between 1965 and 2005.

Even if the motive in thus framing the MDGs was to raise more aid money for Africa, Easterly wrote, the result—a litany of failures—"matters because it is demoralizing to African leaders and activists, and because it might have real consequences for things like private foreign investment to reinforce the stereotype that 'Africa always fails.'" Elaborating on his comments in a recent phone conversation, Easterly said you don't have to be an extreme cynic to conclude that negative images "are good for NGO donations and good for aid budgets." Speaking about the language in which development plans for Africa are couched, he said, "At bottom there is a kind of 'We white people know best' attitude. They may use words like 'empowerment,' but who is actually going to make decisions? The aid givers."

As if to underscore the accuracy of these observations, and their application beyond Africa, the *New York Times* ran a front-page story on April 13 headlined "Maternal Deaths Decline Sharply Across the Globe." The story noted that according to the editor of *The Lancet*, which published the maternal deaths study, "some advocates for women's health tried to pressure The Lancet into delaying publication of the new findings, fearing that good news would detract from the urgency of their cause." Easterly remarked on his blog, "People have long accused aid officials and advocates of being afraid of putting themselves out of business by success, but it's rare that such an episode is documented so clearly."

Sadly, many Africans seem to have accepted the negative picture of themselves they see reflected in the reports of the UN and others. Scrolling through responses posted on the websites where the Sala-i-Martin/Pinkovskiy paper was discussed, I found that the most vehement disagreements seemed to come from Africans. "To suggest that poverty is falling in Africa, something must be wrong with those indicators," wrote one Ugandan on the World Bank site. The comments put me in mind of a remark made recently by an older Kenyan woman I know when we got to talking about why Kenyans seem to delight in claiming to have the worst roads and the worst politicians in the world. Such comments reflect deep anxieties, not just a love of bragging, she said. During the colonial time "we were told constantly that we were stupid," she said. "It's not easy to overcome that."

When the UN countries meet in September, I hope someone will speak to the issue of whether Africa is really "failing" in its pursuit of the MDGs or whether, as Sala-i-Martin, Chege and Easterly would argue, in some areas Africa is doing quite well. And I also hope that more Westerners will come here and decide for themselves whether to be pessimists or optimists about this continent. One such Westerner wrote on an *Economist* site devoted to the Sala-i-Martin/Pinkovskiy paper that during a trip to Uganda, he found himself in the middle of nowhere with a broken-down car and no phone. A woman selling fruit on the side of the road offered use of her cellphone—for a price—and then produced cold Coca-Colas from a hidden refrigerator connected to a generator. "There we were in the middle of 'darkest Africa' sipping a cool beverage waiting for our ride," the Westerner wrote. "We had cash and she was able to supply our demand."

My own experiences aren't quite as dramatic, but they illustrate the same point. My husband and I have made several friends in a Masai area where, for the past three years, we've gone hiking on the weekends. We told them recently that in exchange for their letting us walk freely on their land, we'd like to contribute in some way toward local education. The community elders discussed our offer and proposed that we pay for a teacher to teach the youngest children, who found it very hard to navigate the steep hill and long walk to the nearest government school. The cost would be minimal—something on the order of $70 a month. But how to get the teacher her pay? Someone suggested M-Pesa, a cellphone money-transfer technology used by 10 million subscribers in Kenya.

But here's the kicker: despite being from one of those supposedly advanced countries where people wring their hands over Africa's plight, I wasn't yet one of those subscribers. ■

Letters

(continued from page 2)
[June 7]. We turned to our readers—and were not disappointed. —*The Puzzle Editors*

Wellesley, Mass.
A down-home, chaw-bacon early (and earthy) twentieth-century humorist known as Chic Sale had quite a following of rustic thigh-slappers for his outhouse humor, syndicated in small-town papers. His book about Lem Putt, a "specialist" in the design and construction of outhouses, claimed he invented the crescent-shaped cutout (a rural "lunette") that was a fixture on their doors.
George Bond

Somewhere in Cyberspace
Chic Sale was a humorist who wrote a book featuring an outhouse builder. "Chic Sale" or "Chick Sales" was an old euphemism for "outhouse." A lunette is a moon-shaped decorative inset, such as was used on outhouse doors. The moon on the outhouse door has an interesting history. When stagecoach routes were established in England, inns began to provide facilities for travelers. The ladies' privy was marked with a moon; the men's with a sun. But the men preferred the woods, so the inns ended up offering only ladies' facilities.
Janet Martell

Clarification—for the Irony-Impaired

In Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John McMillian's "America's Radical Roots" (May 31), the authors refer to Barack Obama's opponents calling attention to his "tenuous associations with an angry black minister, un-American education professor and foreign-born Muslims."

The sentence should have read "anti-American" and had quotes around that word as well as around "angry" and "foreign-born" to make clear that these labels are not the authors' but are part of the right-wing smear campaign.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books & the Arts.

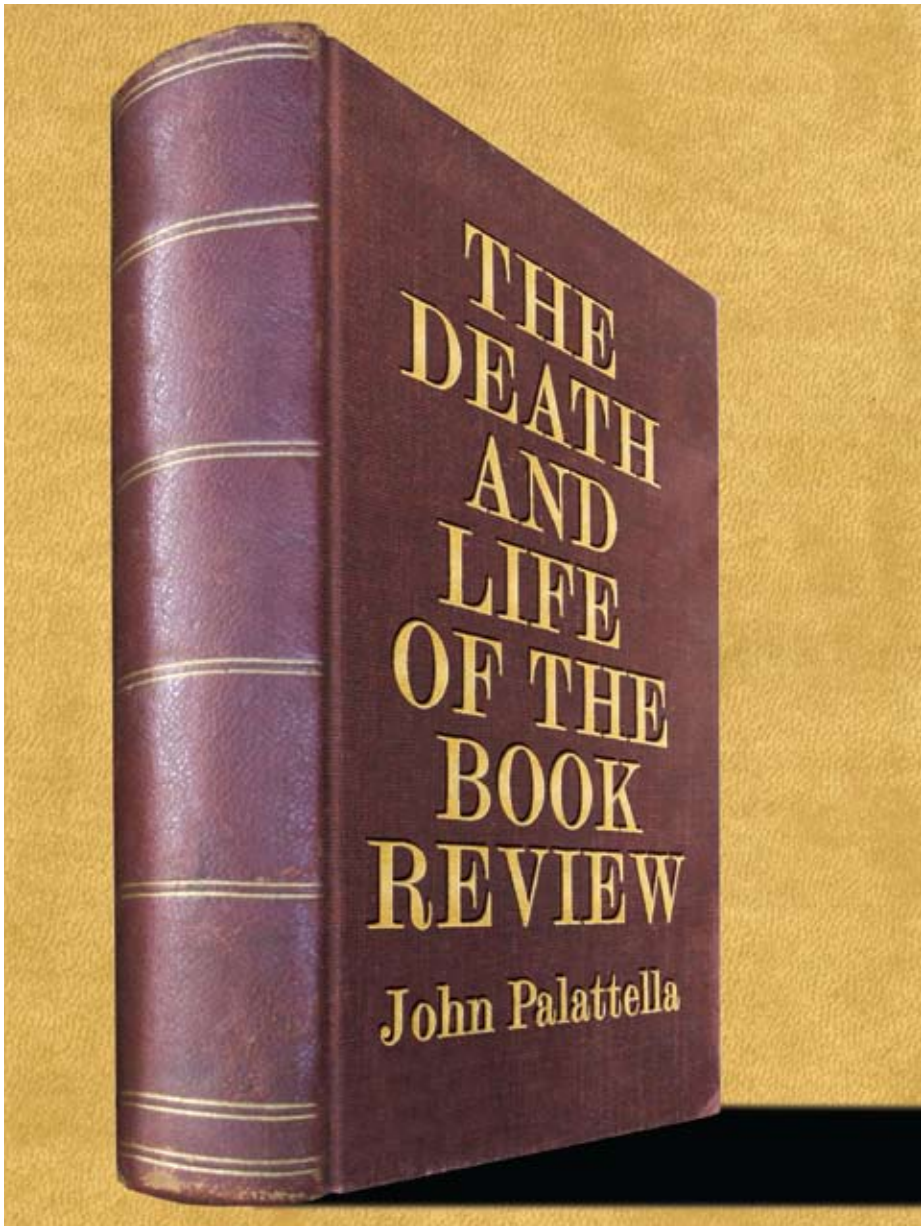
Wading through the year-end newspaper and magazine digests of politics and culture usually makes for dreary reading, and last year was no exception. Some writers struggled to wring a drop of good news from the decade. Others strode to the bar and leveled indictments. Either way it was a bad patch, an impossible task. Glossing ten years of history in snippets of 300 or 500 words, the writers performed an exercise bound to turn any observation about a low, dishonest decade into the perfect expression of it.

Seeking some solace I picked up a book, and in a matter of minutes I read the following passage:

> Now that anyone is free to print whatever they wish, they often disregard that which is best and instead write, merely for the sake of entertainment, what would best be forgotten, or, better still be *erased* from all books.

The sense of impoverishment before an overabundance of information; of helplessness before the need to spot relevant material in a slurry of ephemera; of vertigo provoked by the realization that "the present" is becoming overwhelmingly, annoyingly accessible—many of us, I'd wager, have had these reactions after reading those year-end digests or spending just a modicum of time online. *Now anyone is free to print whatever they wish*. This could be someone kvetching about blogs, Facebook, Flickr, YouTube or Twitter, and in not 500 words or 300 but nine. Except it wasn't. The jeremiad was the handiwork of Niccolò Perotti, a learned Italian classicist, writing to his friend Francesco Guarnerio in 1471, less than twenty years after the invention of the printing press.

This anecdote does not suggest that past is prologue but rather underscores the importance of thinking historically, of taking a long view when trying to understand changes in deeply engrained patterns in literary culture. I stumbled upon Perotti's plaint in Robert Darnton's essay collection *The Case for Books: Past, Present, and Future* (2009). Rejecting the commonplace notion that digital technology has ushered in a new era, "the so-called information age," Darnton argues that every age in which a new technology has altered forms



of writing and communication has been an age of information, and that in every such age "information has never been stable." There is continuity to the history of technological transformations, Darnton suggests: what is everpresent is the experience of rupture. Anthony Grafton, another historian of the book, makes a similar point in "Codex in Crisis," from his recent essay collection *Worlds Made by Words* (2009): "The current drive to digitize the written record is one of a number of critical projects in the long saga of our drive to accumulate, store, and retrieve information efficiently. It will result not in the infotopia that the prophets conjure up, but in one more in a series of new information ecologies, all of them challenging, in which readers, writers, and producers of text have learned to survive and flourish." The point impresses because one of its implications is that a technological innovation, whether the printing press, the telegraph, the television or a digital device, though it delivers information in a new form, is not necessarily the root cause of problems with—or controversies about—reading and writing that have arisen in its wake.

I'd like to talk about a meltdown, one that's occurring not on Wall Street but Grub Street, that storied realm of writers, booksellers, bohemians and hacks. Though the

This essay is adapted from a lecture delivered in February in the Neilly Series at the University of Rochester.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

problems on Grub Street are slight compared with the hardships that have befallen millions of people thanks mostly to Wall Street, they are matters of cultural importance. On Grub Street, for nearly a decade, and especially during the past four years, people have been wailing, rending their garments and otherwise voicing their displeasure over the deterioration of books coverage in the United States. (The meltdown on Grub Street coincided with the release of the Kindle in 2007, but the gales of anxiety and gusts of delirium stirred up in book publishing by digital readers are a different story.) The laments have focused mostly on newspaper books coverage because, rightfully or not, it has long been regarded as an accurate barometer of the delicate climate of literary life. Who hasn't heard someone in a bookstore or a friend ask, "Have you read that novel the *Times Book Review* raved about"?

That a steep erosion in newspaper books coverage has occurred is undeniable. Newspapers that have killed or drastically reduced coverage during the past few years include the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *Newsday*, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, to name just a few. But this decline, though severe, has not been sudden, nor limited to newspapers. With the exception of *The Nation*, *The New Yorker*, *The New Republic*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *The Atlantic* and *Harper's Magazine*, weeklies and monthlies began rolling back books coverage in the 1990s. As for newspapers, there's no better example of the long contraction than *The New York Times Book Review*. When the critic and novelist John Leonard edited the *Book Review* in the early 1970s, an era generally regarded as its golden age, on some Sundays he could count on having a canvas of at least eighty pages. In 1985 the *Book Review* averaged forty-four pages; two decades later, it was averaging thirty-two to thirty-six, and in recent months its average size has vacillated between twenty-four and twenty-eight pages. The *Book Review* is still the country's most visible newspaper books section, but there is not much to read in it.

Some questions, then, to serve as boundary stones for the ramble ahead: Is it true, as many people who have commented on the matter have claimed, that the recent decline in newspaper books coverage is a problem for the culture at large, and also representative of larger cultural problems? Are review sections disappearing or shrinking because they can't turn a profit? Or is it because they can't compete with material originating on the web? Why are weekly and monthly magazines, despite producing a bounty of thoughtful essays and reviews about books, generally left out of the conversation about books coverage? And finally, as for quality books coverage—by which I mean not reviewery but scrutiny, the deliberate, measured analysis of literary and intellectual questions without obvious or easy answers—can such coverage originate online and also find a loyal audience there?

The newspapers that many of us, or many of our parents, grew up reading were a product of the sweet spot of the twentieth century—the postwar boom. By midcentury, the occupation of newsgathering had been thoroughly professionalized, and during the following three decades abundant ad revenue enabled newspapers to expand their newsrooms and to increase the quality and quantity of news coverage. Between 1964 and 1999, the volume of news published by some metropolitan papers doubled. The dimensions of the news changed too. As Leonard Downie and Michael Schudson explained last year in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, during the boom years newspapers began to gravitate away from a longstanding preoccupation with government and with pegging coverage to specific political events; papers still worked those beats, but they also began to cultivate "a much broader understanding of public life that included not just events, but also patterns and trends, and not just in politics, but also in science, medicine, business, sports, education, religion, culture, and entertainment."

In some cases newspaper editors were reacting to the lessons of the civil rights and women's movements: politics isn't the exclusive domain of white men; the personal is political. In other cases editors were reacting to changes in the media market. They had to slow or reverse the loss of readers turning to broadcast or cable television for news, or to magazines that offered depth instead of breadth; they also had to renew their appeal to readers whose news diet had changed since leaving the city for the suburbs. And so newspapers endeavored to broaden their readership by adding or expanding coverage of business, sports, health, real estate, food and film. And books. *The Los Angeles Times Book Review* was launched as a twelve-page Sunday tabloid section in 1975. *The Washington Post Book World* debuted as a Sunday tabloid section in the 1960s; it was folded into the paper in the mid-1970s, only to be resurrected as a stand-alone publication in the early 1980s. (Neither exists today.) *The New York Times Book Review* is not a boomer but a centenarian. It has been a section of the paper since Adolph Ochs bought the *Times* in 1896. Nevertheless, the rest of the *Times* is a boomer. In the early 1970s managing editor Abe Rosenthal redesigned the paper to expand arts, science and business coverage and to introduce ad-friendly service sections.

Although newspapers, in print or online, remain the country's primary source of news, their economic base has been undermined by the Internet. Obviously, the digital realm's pernicious culture of free content as well as low barriers to entry for businesses and low-cost advertising have broken the grip of newspapers on audiences and advertisers. Newspapers began losing national and retail advertising with the advent of broadcast television; as a response they doubled down on classified ads. During the past decade they lost much of the classified market to websites like Craigslist. Instead of charging for news online, newspapers pillaged themselves and offered news for free as a way to attract readers and advertisers. There was an uptick in ad revenue in the early to mid-2000s, but it leveled off with the recession; and even at its peak the tiny sums from online ads fell short of recouping the lost revenue from print advertising. With their balance sheets in turmoil, newspapers began to scale back news coverage and reduce the size of the newsroom.

Miracles

I spent the whole day
crying and writing, until
they became the same,

as when the planet covers the sun
with all its might and still
I can see it; or when one dead

body gives its heart
to a name on a list. A match.
A light. Sailing a signal

flare behind me for another to find.
A scratch on the page
is a supernatural act, one twisting

fire out of water, blood out of stone.
We can read us. We are not alone.

BRENDA SHAUGHNESSY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are you in love with your home, but afraid of your staircase?

Lifetime warranty
• 10 safety sensors
• Swivel-style seat
• 350 lb. capacity
• Available in AC only or DC only models
• Easy to use
• Seat Belt
firstSTREET exclusive not available in stores

This innovative and affordable solution enables you to maintain your independence and stay in the home you love.

Like most people, the older I get, the more I miss life's simple pleasures. The thing is, I want to stay in the home I love, the home where my wife and I raised our children. Recently, when my doctor told me that I should not climb stairs, I thought I had no choice but to move. Our bedroom is on the second floor, and neither my wife nor I feel safe walking up or down the stairs. I had even started looking at brochures for homes in a senior community when a friend asked me why I would move when there was such an easy solution. It's called the Easy Climber™, and it's enabled me to stay put.

If you or someone you love lives in a home with more than one floor, the staircase can be more than an inconvenience, it can be a health threat. Whether it's due to mobility issues or cardiac concerns, why risk your life climbing stairs when an easy solution is only a phone call away? You'll be surprised how easy, simple, and affordable this system is. It features a reliable, aircraft-grade cable drive that's been tested over 30,000 cycles, and also designed for basements and outdoors. It's simple enough for most people to install on either side of the stairs, a snap to use, and comes with an exclusive lifetime warranty* on the drive train. Call our toll-free number now, and a friendly, knowledgeable product expert can answer all of your questions and help you get on the road to independence and safety in the home. 350 lb. weight capacity.

Easy Climber™

Call Now for our lowest price ever!

Please mention promotional code 40363.

Because this item is customized for your home before shipping, it does not qualify for firstSTREET's normal 90 day risk-free trial.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day.

1-888-689-3045

We accept all major credit cards, or if you choose, you can pay by check over the phone. To order by mail, please call for details.

firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

www.easyclimber.com

55746 Copyright © 2009 by *firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond, Inc.* All rights reserved.

SPECIAL OFFER... we recognize that our current economy has affected all of us, especially those on fixed incomes. For this reason, we have worked with our manufacturer to provide you with tremendous savings and we now are offering you our ***...NEW low price SAVE over $400***

Designed for easy self installation to save you money

My father always told me "when you want something done right... do it yourself." Your home is your most valuable investment, and adding Easy Climber™ can enhance its value. Why spend a lot for installation when this system has been designed to be installed by almost anyone, with only a drill and a screwdriver, in a matter of hours. You'll get the satisfaction of knowing the job was done right... not to mention the money you'll save. We'll include a helpful booklet to walk you through the simple installation process, and our helpful product experts will be standing by to help you at any time.

What to look for

Quality Construction and Dependability: Look for a cable drive system that uses high-grade cable. Go for one that has a weight capacity of at least 300 pounds. Has the product been tested over thousands and thousands of cycles?

Safety: Insist on built-in safety sensors to stop the chair upon encountering any obstruction. Make sure there's a swivel safety switch that prevents the lift from operating if you are not in the proper position. Don't forget the seat belt!

Flexibility: Look for a system that can be installed on either side of the staircase, a control that can be put on either side of the chair and has multiple call/send controls. There are systems out there that let you choose either AC or DC operation.

Warranty: Some systems are backed by limited drive-train and parts warranties—why stop there? Insist on a lifetime warranty on the drive train.❖

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The postwar newspaper hasn't gone the way of the carrier pigeon. A few large metro and national dailies still devote considerable resources to investigative features and accountability reporting. They still cultivate a news judgment focused on a public agenda and oriented toward the general reader. Such journalism is essential—and expensive. Paying for it means deciding not to pay for something else, and at many papers that something else is books coverage.

It's necessary to explain these broad economic trends to understand a crucial and overlooked point—namely, that it is disingenuous for newspaper executives to justify the elimination or reduction of the book beat by claiming that books sections don't turn a profit. Undeniably, the executives' math is correct. A newspaper books section, if one were to total up its costs, loses money. But does not the sports section or the metro section? Yet of all the sections that fail to turn a profit on their own, it's the books section that is most often killed or pinched. Claims that books sections are eliminated or downsized because they can't earn their keep are bogus. It is indisputable that newspapers have been weakened by hard times and a major technological shift in the dissemination of news; it is not indisputable that newspaper books coverage has suffered for the same reasons. The book beat has been gutted primarily by cultural forces, not economic ones, and the most implacable of those forces lies within rather than outside the newsroom. It is not iPads or the Internet but the anti-intellectual ethos of newspapers themselves.

Hostility to reading itself is sometimes enforced by newspaper books sections.

"Anti-intellectual" is a hefty allegation, but bear with me as I substantiate it with a few stories from the newsroom and observations about the response of newspaper books sections to some important publishing trends of the past several decades. First, a definition. In a news context, "anti-intellectual" does not necessarily mean an antipathy to ideas, though it can be that too. I use the word "anti-intellectual" to describe a suspicion of ideas not gleaned from reporting and a lack of interest in ideas that are not utterly topical.

In 1999 Steve Wasserman was three years into his tenure as the editor of *The Los Angeles Times Book Review*, and that July he published a review of Richard Howard's new translation of Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma*. The reason was simple: Howard is among the best translators of French literature. As Wasserman explained several years ago in a memoir of his days at the *Los Angeles Times* published in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, the review of the book, written by Edmund White, was stylish and laudatory. The Monday after the piece ran, the paper's editor summoned Wasserman to his office and admonished him for running an article about "another dead, white, European male." But the paper's readers in Los Angeles thought otherwise. Soon after the review appeared, local sales of the book took off; national sales did too when other publications reviewed the book. *The New Yorker* ended up printing a "Talk of the Town" item that traced the book's unexpected success to *The Los Angeles Times Book Review*. In his memoir, Wasserman relates a similar story about Carlin Romano, then the books critic at the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, who was scolded by an editor for running as the cover story of his section a review of a new translation of *Tirant Lo Blanc*, a Catalan epic beloved by Cervantes. "Have you gone crazy?" the editor asked. "Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of America's newspapers in the 1990s," Romano reflected, "is their hostility to reading in all forms."

The taboo still exists, and it is sometimes enforced not by other editors but by newspaper books sections themselves. In August 2008 *The New York Times Book Review* published a piece by Walter Kirn about James Wood's *How Fiction Works*. Wood is one of our liveliest critics of fiction, and *How Fiction Works* is his attempt to write something like E.M. Forster's *Aspects of the Novel*. Kirn's review drips with contempt for Wood's knowledge of his subject. Irked by Wood's readings of great novels by great novelists like Joyce, Proust and Balzac, Kirn attacked Wood for his alleged "genteel condescension," "his donnish, finicky persona," his preference for novels that offer "precision and clarity over mere vigor and potency" and for wearing his knowledge on his sleeve. Kirn belittled Wood's learning, which is to say, his reading; he sounded like a restaurant critic chastising a chef for spending too much time in the kitchen. But there's another twist. Kirn's piece was the cover story of that week's *Book Review*. An attack on reading was the lead review in the nation's one remaining Sunday books supplement. Kirn wrote the piece, but he didn't put it on the cover. The editors of the *Book Review* did that, and their decision was a reminder that in its current incarnation the publication resembles the version of the *Book Review* criticized by Elizabeth Hardwick in *Harper's* in 1959: "a sort of hidden dissuader, gently, blandly, respectfully denying whatever vivacious interest there might be in books or in literary matters generally."

Wasserman's and Romano's clashes with their editors point to another symptom of the anti-intellectualism of many newspaper book reviews: their lack of curiosity about works in translation. Translations are occasionally reviewed by newspapers, but generally only if the author of the title under review is a Nobel laureate or a well-known personality in her native country, or when the translation rights to a book were purchased during a bidding war. Being an author from an impoverished, war-torn country or with a melodramatic life story helps too. The latter is one of the reasons the work of Chilean author Roberto Bolaño has been widely reviewed in the United States whereas that of many of his peers in Latin America has not.

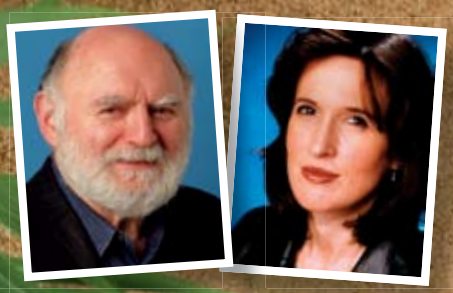
There is a translation renaissance occurring in the United States, in both fiction and poetry, of likes unseen since the 1960s and '70s, when American poets translated the work of a great number of European Modernists and Latin American Surrealists. Today's renaissance has been sparked and sustained not only by stalwarts like New Directions, Grove, Dalkey Archive, Metropolitan and Farrar, Straus and Giroux, as well as university presses like Nebraska, Northwestern, Yale and California, among others, but also by a number of small presses launched during the past decade, most notably Archipelago, Ugly Duckling, Melville House and Open Letter. This bears emphasizing because great ages of literature have often been periods of intense translation; as Eliot Weinberger has said, "With no news from abroad, a culture ends up repeating the same things to itself. It needs the foreign not to imitate, but to transform." But today's translation revolution hasn't been televised; it has barely been reported, at least by newspaper books sections.

In his memoir Wasserman explains that enthusiasts of *The Los Angeles Times Book Review* were always in the minority of the paper's overall readership. Over the course of four Sundays in 2004, of the newspaper's 6.4 million readers, some 1.2 million had read the *Book Review*. That's 19 percent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK NOW!

September 26 to October 3, 2010, departing from New York City



Victor Navasky and **Katrina vanden Heuvel** invite you to join them on *The Nation* Magazine's 13th annual seminar cruise to Bermuda.

Jeremy Scahill

Jim Hightower

Christopher Hayes

All Cruisers are invited to a Welcome Reception at The Nation's Offices in NYC the evening before we set sail!

Special guests include

Judy Collins
Special musical guest and author

Melissa Harris-Lacewell
Nation Columnist and MSNBC Contributor

Richard Kim
Nation Senior Editor

John Nichols
The Nation's Washington Correspondent

Calvin Trillin
The Nation's Deadline Poet

For more information, visit www.nationcruise.com or call 800-707-1634

THE Nation. Cruise

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the paper's readership, and it made the *Book Review* the least-read section of the Sunday paper. However, among the paper's well-educated and best-read demographic, the section was a must-read. That readership was small, about 320,000, or 27 percent of the total readership of the *Book Review*, but it was avid and loyal, and delighted to learn about a new translation of *The Charterhouse of Parma*. And so, like John Leonard at *The New York Times Book Review* in the early 1970s, Wasserman brazenly edited against industry prejudices when he ran *The Los Angeles Times Book Review* from 1996 to 2005. His experience there taught him two lessons. First, that a mass readership will elude any newspaper section in the United States dedicated to the review of books. Second, the lack of mass appeal makes even a vibrant newspaper book review hard to sell to book advertisers because the cost of a single full-page ad in a large newspaper exceeds the promotional budgets for most books.

On the web, speed is confused with timeliness, and the value of timeliness debased by speed.

The near-extinction of newspaper books coverage, and the mediocre quality of what little coverage remains, is indeed a cultural problem, but one that stems more from cultural prejudices and structural problems within newspapers than from any within the culture at large. Indeed, the demographics of Wasserman's readership at the *Los Angeles Times* are proof that there is a keen appetite for books coverage that offers depth, not breadth; that is selective, not a full-service consumer guide; that is indispensable, not ephemeral; that is of general interest but not mass-market; and that is committed to cultivating an informed, critical community of readers. There is a demand, in other words, for exactly the kind of books coverage offered by magazines.

Nearly five decades ago, a savvy group of writers and editors, among them Robert Silvers, Elizabeth Hardwick and Edmund Wilson, saw the newspaper crisis of their day as an opportunity to capitalize on readership demand. In December 1962 a prolonged printers' strike in New York City removed *The New York Times Book Review* from circulation. Weary of the tepid fare served by newspaper books sections, Silvers and company took advantage of the *Book Review*'s absence to launch *The New York Review of Books* in February 1963. Similarly, in 1979 a prolonged lockout at the *Times* of London kept the *Times Literary Supplement* out of circulation, its absence creating an opportunity for the launch of the *London Review of Books*, first as an insert to the *NYRB* and six months later as a stand-alone publication. *The New York Review of Books* perseveres as a biweekly magazine of politics and ideas, and last year the *LRB*, also a biweekly, celebrated its thirtieth anniversary.

We are in the throes of another newspaper crisis, yet nothing comparable to the *NYRB* or the *LRB* has emerged, in print or online, even though there is, I believe, a genuine hunger for serious books coverage. There is also a deep sense of inertia. For example, in early 2007, as each week or month brought more bad news about a newspaper books section being downsized or killed, the National Book Critics Circle, the professional association for book reviewers, announced a Campaign to Save Book Reviewing. Panels were convened in New York City, Washington and other cities. The lasting result of all this group therapy has been the launch of a dismal blog called Critical Mass, which is used primarily to promote the work of NBCC members published in other venues. It's as if the NBCC had noticed a hole in a dike, and instead of trying to repair it or leading the charge to high ground, it offered swimming lessons at a deep discount.

A century ago, newspapers were the new media of the era, and they upended the presentation of words as much as the web has in our own time. Newspapers appeared in multiple editions, tracking the developments of a story throughout the day. Multiple headlines on the front page competed for a reader's attention; images jostled against text, and ads against articles. Magazines like *The Atlantic*, *Harper's* and, by the 1920s, *The New Yorker*, were not as protean as newspapers, but they also mixed commerce with culture, and their substantial advertising revenues and weekly or monthly frequency provided their editors and art directors with creative liberty and time enough to devise combinations of word and image more artful than the layouts of any newspaper. As Grafton writes in "Codex in Crisis," the "newspapers and magazines of the early years of the century did not have the near-total flexibility of the modern Web site, and their readers could not skip from one hot link to the next [but] their juxtapositions of serious and trivial contents, and their ability to confront readers with the shock of the new were as widely noticed—and sometimes as forcefully deplored—by contemporaries as similar features on the Web." In some ways, Grafton points out, "the world of writing has not so much been transformed" by the web as restored to a ghostly, hyperactive version of the newspaper world of the early twentieth century.

Despite the great newspaper die-off, the newspaper sensibility is experiencing a second life online. Scandals, economic meltdowns, political gaffes, policy debates, data in the form of polls or government agency releases, campaigns and elections—such are the beats and resources of news sites like Talking Points Memo, which combines narrative journalism and aggregation with reporting, some of it investigative, and relies on the involvement of a loyal audience with a lot of enthusiasm and expertise. In the world of politics, newsworthy stuff happens every hour of every day; there's a lot to cover, and the web allows someone like Josh Marshall, the editor of Talking Points Memo, to publish what is essentially a rolling edition of a small daily newspaper devoted to politics.

By contrast, writing about books and ideas that favors deliberate and measured analysis of questions without obvious or easy answers is an approach best suited to magazines, which is one reason nothing like the *NYRB* or the *LRB* has originated on the web. In her 1959 *Harper's* essay about book reviewing, Elizabeth Hardwick called for books sections to welcome "the unusual, the difficult, the lengthy, the intransigent, and above all, the *interesting*." That is a wonderful, immodest proposal, one I never let out of my mind. It does not describe the books coverage available at Tina Brown's Daily Beast or many books blogs, where when people aren't posting capsule reviews they are writing about book deals, price wars over e-books between Amazon and publishers or the latest industry gossip. Journalists have long been enthralled by the buzz and glamour of book publishing, but as a subject it is a poor substitute for quality books coverage. One exception is the Barnes & Noble Review, a web-only venture that generally avoids gossip and trade talk. It is better edited than any newspaper books section, but it also happens to be owned by the country's largest corporate chain bookstore. Neither the quality of its reviews nor the generosity of its writers' fees can expunge from its pages its innate commercialism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is reason to worry about the future of literary journalism, and magazine journalism in general. One reason is the economics of electronic publishing, that delirious world of commerce into which many print magazines have channeled time, money and expectations for the past decade. Speed is king in the digital realm, the theory being that maximizing traffic by posting a daily flurry of stories is the best way to attract readers and, in turn, advertisers. But according to "Magazines and Their Web Sites," a survey undertaken by the *Columbia Journalism Review* of 665 consumer magazines with websites, speed can warp journalistic standards. "Most magazines have less rigorous copyediting and fact-checking online than in their print editions," explain Victor Navasky and Evan Lerner, the report's editors. The mindset of these publications is that "if the number of 'eyeballs' trumps the quality of copy presentation, and produces minor factual errors, so be it." On the web, the value of speed is commercial more than journalistic. Quantity beats quality; being first beats being the best. Speed is confused with timeliness, and the value of timeliness is debased by the obsession with mere speed.

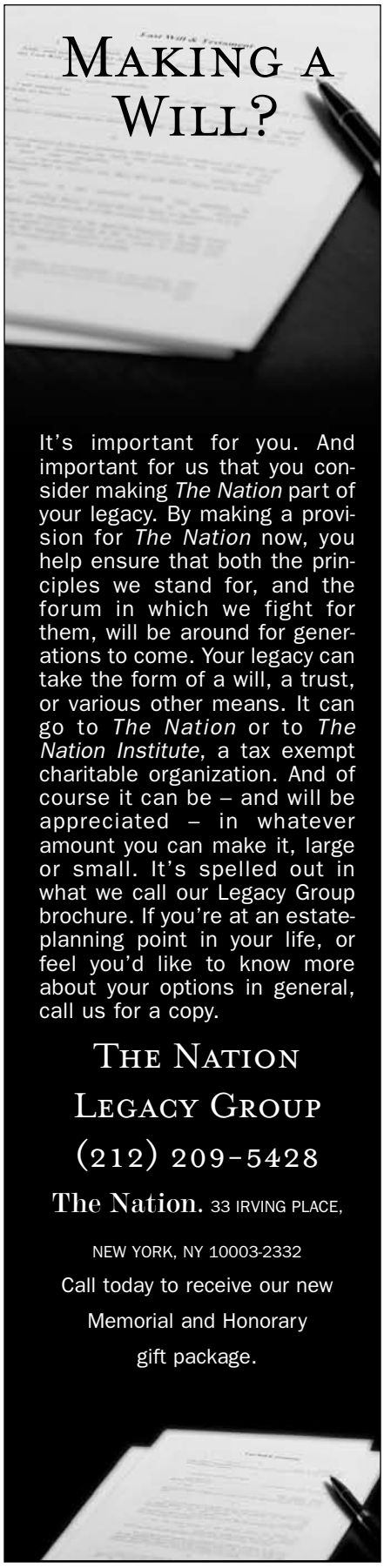
But speed, it turns out, is commercially overrated. According to the *CJR* study, the financial dividends of speed have been lackluster: 68 percent of the magazines surveyed reported that advertising is the primary source of revenue for their website, yet only a third of those websites earn a profit. Well into the second decade of magazines' online existence, websites have expanded the readership of magazines without, in the large majority of cases, improving their balance sheets, and the added visibility has been purchased on the cheap with inferior journalism. The *CJR* survey raises a fundamental question about magazine websites: does a failing business model centered on advertising suggest that there is no viable business model?

Aggravating matters is the culture of free. Readers are accustomed to viewing content *gratis* on the web, but free is not a good price for publishers, editors or writers. Of course, newspapers and magazines are partly to blame for having taught the public to expect free material online. Equally culpable are editors who justify not paying online contributors on the grounds that their articles provide them with invaluable exposure. (Try paying rent with exposure.) As James Rainey remarked several months ago in the *Los Angeles Times*, "the technology providing the world entree to an unimaginable trove of art, images and information is also obliterating the boundaries that once allowed the creative class to make a living." On the web, we are all interns now.

A second reason for worry is changes in reading habits. Grafton explains in "Codex in Crisis" that "the newspapers and magazines of the years around 1900 coexisted with more stable forms of writing—above all the serious book—and presupposed the superiority of engaged, informed study of texts even when they did not promote it. By contrast, the hot link and the search engine seem to symbolize a particular postmodern way of approaching texts: rapid, superficial, appropriative, and individualistic." On the web, the prevailing practice among readers, especially young ones, is dipping, cross-checking and power skimming. "Most students begin their searches for information at Google, rather than a library Web page that lists more refined search engines," Grafton explains. "Those who consult e-book sites stay on them for an average of four minutes."

I confess to asking more than four minutes of readers. Quality books coverage is based in the sensibility of print—what the book editor Elisabeth Sifton calls "its relative slowness," and its scope, complexity and authority. For me that involves editing a magazine section about books that is like a library: a disciplined but welcoming locale, its columns stocked with resources that allow for deliberation and raucous debate and sustain a diverse public of serious, passionate readers. It aims to be up-to-date without necessarily being topical, and unscarred by the arcane discourses of academic theory or the patronizing platitudes of punditry. It aims to ask important questions rather than propose easy answers; to abjure posturing and mere position-taking in favor of analyzing the twisted arcs of suffering and liberation that span modern history and politics; to treat the realm of imagination no less seriously than the realm of fact, never forgetting that imagination is not free from fact even though it may resist its pressures. It aims to be a meeting place for writers aspiring and established, each an inspiration for the other.

Despite the turmoil and doubts, I think there's no better time than the present to be covering books. The herd instinct is nearly extinct: newspapers inadvertently killed it when they scaled back on books coverage en masse; and the web, for all its crowds and their supposed wisdom, is a zone of unfederated cantons. The field is wide open. If you can't take chances now, if in such a climate you can't risk seeking an air legitimate and rare, when can you? ■


MAKING A WILL?
It's important for you. And important for us that you consider making *The Nation* part of your legacy. By making a provision for *The Nation* now, you help ensure that both the principles we stand for, and the forum in which we fight for them, will be around for generations to come. Your legacy can take the form of a will, a trust, or various other means. It can go to *The Nation* or to *The Nation Institute*, a tax exempt charitable organization. And of course it can be – and will be appreciated – in whatever amount you can make it, large or small. It's spelled out in what we call our Legacy Group brochure. If you're at an estate-planning point in your life, or feel you'd like to know more about your options in general, call us for a copy.
THE NATION LEGACY GROUP
(212) 209-5428
The Nation. 33 IRVING PLACE,
NEW YORK, NY 10003-2332
Call today to receive our new Memorial and Honorary gift package.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Black Is Also a Color

by BARRY SCHWABSKY

In 1908, when Henri Matisse exhibited in Paris thirty paintings, sculptures and drawings representing his work of the previous eight years, a disgruntled critic complained of the artist's "unhealthy state of mind, overworked by search and ambition." If only he'd realized what was coming. Just three years earlier Matisse had burst into notoriety as the most radical of the Fauves, or "wild beasts," of painting; the 1908 exhibition showed that the 38-year-old artist was ready to take stock of his work without false modesty, the better to push forward into new terrain. His sense of accomplishment and his restlessness could hardly be disentangled. "I do not repudiate any of my paintings," Matisse declared in his "Notes of a Painter," published a few months later, "but there is not one of them that I would not redo differently, if I had it to redo."

Where most observers saw madness and aggression in Matisse's work, his one great early defender among the critics, Guillaume Apollinaire, saw a "Cartesian master." "We are not here in the presence of an extravagant or extremist undertaking," Apollinaire argued. "Matisse's art is eminently reasonable." The poet was being sly, knowing as he did that to be reasonable, or rather to put one's reason into practice, can be a most extreme undertaking. And Matisse was just as crafty when he claimed, in implicit contradiction to Apollinaire, to disdain intellect as a guide to painting: "I believe only in Instinct." True, Matisse is the most intuitive of painters, yet to express his instinct cost him immense intellectual as well as physical labor. "Often behind one of these works," he explained to a Catalan journalist, "a dozen more have been undergoing evolution, or, if you wish, involution, from objective vision to the sensationalist idea that engendered it." Matisse's insight, if it has been precisely transcribed, is extraordinary. It would have been more conventional to assume that art begins with sensation and is gradually elaborated to construct an "objective vision." But Matissean vision is just the opposite, moving from objectivity to sensation, or rather (and here comes a curious oxymoron) to a "sensationalist idea," apparently a sort of intellectualized sensation. It's as if, in Blakean terms, one were to start from experience to achieve innocence.

Matisse's paintings can appear to have taken form effortlessly. Their timelessness is akin to that of the icons that stunned the painter when he visited Russia in 1911—"the true source of all creative search," he declared. Of course, the frank evidence of multiple revisions observable on the surfaces of most of them tells us that this sense of ease is deceptive. Readers of Hilary Spurling's biography of the painter can easily come away from it thinking of the artist as an absolute kvetch: high-strung and anxious, a reckless workaholic on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Of the 1906 painting *The Gypsy*, he later observed that it "shows the energy of a drowning man whose pathetic cries for help are uttered in a fine voice," while the mural *Music* (1910) he described as "an immense effort which has exhausted me." Of the glorious 1912 still life *Basket of Oranges*, later purchased by Picasso and now on view in Chicago, he told Françoise Gilot, "It was born of misery." When a painting happened to achieve an unexpected success he took little pleasure in it, seeing the work as just "the beginning of a very painful effort." A confirmed atheist—except "when I work"—he would use the Lord's Prayer as a mantra to calm himself down. And yet as his friend the writer and socialist politician Marcel Sembat observed, "He has no wish to offer other people anything other than calm."

The war years made Matisse's anxieties even more acute. He volunteered for military service and even bought combat boots but failed the medical exam; he appealed his refusal and was turned away again. His mother was caught in the German-occupied northeast; painter friends were in the trenches. Contributing prints to fundraising efforts for civilian prisoners of war did something to assuage his feelings of guilt, "sickened by all the upheaval to which I am not contributing." His living had been dependent on a market composed mostly of foreign buyers, now dispersed; there were no more commissions from Russia. But in his art, Matisse never thought of seeking safer ground; away from the front, his struggles became all the more acute. Alfred Barr, in his pioneering 1951 monograph on the artist—still the first stop for anyone wanting to look further into his work—defined the years 1913–17 as Matisse's period of "austerity and architectonics." The perceptual puzzles of the Cubists having stolen the Fauves' thunder as the last word in artistic radicalism, and with the fate of France in doubt, the *luxe, calme et volupté*, the *bonheur de vivre* that had given names to some of Matisse's most ambitious canvases of the previous decade yielded, at least for a while, to a new sobriety of color and emphasis on geometric structure. "Matisse: Radical Invention, 1913–1917," at the Art Institute of Chicago through June 20 (and then at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, July 18–October 11), puts the artist's work of this period under a microscope—sometimes literally so.

Some works of this period verge on abstraction and, significantly, some of the most important among them were not exhibited until much later, as if the artist feared that the public would not comprehend them. When the 1914 *View of Notre Dame*—with its rough and hesitant approaches to an architectural volume that might have been unidentifiable without the title—was finally shown thirty-five years later, it was still seen by some as "an unfinished sketch to which Matisse had unaccountably signed his name." Another famous near-abstraction from the same year, *French Window at Collioure*, really might be unfinished—or perhaps it would be better to say that Matisse may never have stopped wondering whether he was done with it; in any case it was exhibited only after his death. The black rectangle that occupies most of the canvas is not simply a negation—the "black future" that the poet Louis Aragon later saw there—but a latency rich with possibility. A finely balanced uncertainty toward itself makes *French Window at Collioure* the quintessential Matisse painting—if there is one.

During these years Matisse produced some of his greatest works, and some of the best-known. The exhibition's climactic next-to-last room includes three of his most monumental and mysterious paintings, *The Piano Lesson* and *The Moroccans*, both works of 1916 in MoMA's collection, and the masterpiece completed the following year, *Bathers by a River*, from the Art Institute. Not that Matisse's relentless self-criticism always stood him in good stead; his attempt to get the better of Cubism in an oversized 1915 pastiche of a Dutch still life in the Louvre is a thing of fits and starts. But a visitor who'd walked into the exhibition (or picked up the catalog) without reading its subtitle would never imagine that it simply covers the years 1913–17. Really, the exhibition chronology starts in 1907 (and there are even a few works dated earlier than that); you go through several rooms (or 140 pages of text) before reaching 1913. Why the discrepancy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between the actual scope of the show and the more modest claim of the title? The reason, I'll guess, was the unavailability of many of Matisse's most important works from the half-dozen years before the war. Because his greatest collector in the prewar period was the Russian textile manufacturer Sergei Shchukin—could he have been the tired businessman Matisse so notoriously invoked as a potential receiver of his art in "Notes of a Painter"?—paintings like *Harmony in Red* (1908–09), *Nymph and Satyr* (1908–09), *The Conversation* (1909), *The Dance* (1910), *Music* (1910), *The Painter's Family* (1911), *Moorish Café* (1912–13), *Mme Matisse* (1913) and many more are today in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. None are in this exhibition. There are wonderful paintings from these years in Western museums too, not to mention some of the artist's best sculptures. But while they are sufficient to illustrate Matisse's development away from Fauvism, they can't convey the whole story, so the curators were wise to refrain from appearing to claim any full accounting of the period.

But when Stephanie D'Alessandro of the Art Institute writes of Matisse having "radically changed direction" around 1913 (and in this she reflects the prevailing wisdom), I'm not convinced. In what sense could his paintings of 1913–17 be considered significantly more "austere" or "architectonic" than *Bathers With a Turtle* (1907–08)? Here the three nudes, starkly rendered, pensive, are isolated against an environment reduced to three imposing horizontal blue bands, an abstraction closer to the minimalism of Brice Marden's *Grove Group* of the mid-1970s, or to the geometricized backgrounds of some of Matisse's later works such as the still life *Gourds* (1916), than to the luxuriant foliage echoing the figure's sensuousness in a somewhat earlier painting like *Blue Nude (Memory of Biskra)*, from 1907. And the severity of *Bathers With a Turtle* is hardly a rarity in Matisse's work before 1913. What about the 1911 *Portrait of Olga Merson*, in which the primly seated figure is hemmed in by a pair of blunt, almost brutal concentric black arcs—a painting in which geometry seems to be used less to "construct" a figure than to deface it with what Barr called a "scimitar-like stroke"? Even the works Matisse produced in 1912, a year spent mostly in Morocco—works that explore, as D'Alessandro well puts it, "the power of North African light to dissolve form and to reconstruct space into vaporous, mutable, interwoven layers of ethereal color"—are not as sensuous or exuberant as she seems to imply. Reflecting the strictness of Muslim mores as well as the intensity of North African light, the figures are hieratically static, self-contained, distant. Although the paintings include passages of delicious detail (for instance the pointillist shorthand fantasy of dots and dashes at the center of the sash worn by *Fatma, the Mulatto Woman*, from 1913) they generally use a mode of representation based on the principle of the adequacy of the least possible indication.

None of the paintings I've mentioned can be called typical. In fact, what's amazing about Matisse's production throughout this period is how restlessly experimental he was. Seemingly a natural dialectician, he was provoked by his every pictorial choice to wonder what would happen if he did the opposite. His inclination was not to balance out alternatives but to pursue each to its contradictory extreme: architectonics and arabesque, severity and sensuality, psychology and decoration. But if any single painting seems best to support the idea of a new sobriety entering Matisse's work in 1913, it would be *Woman on a High Stool*, whose subject is Germaine Raynal, the wife of an art critic associated with the Cubists—although I can never look at the painting without thinking, instead, of Virginia Woolf. The painting is mostly a gray that mutates into chromatic highlights here and there—flashes of pink on the woman's face and left forearm, blue and green in her skirt—while the heavy black outlines of the various forms at times become entirely schematic, for instance in the leg of the rusty red table behind her.

© 2010 SUCCESSION H. MATISSE/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK CITY

Portrait of Yvonne Landsberg (1914), by Henri Matisse

This seeming suppression of color was something new for a painter whose calling card since 1904 had been the fearless use of color. Again, though, it can hardly be called typical, but that Matisse did recurrently experiment with gray and black after 1913 is inarguable. *French Window at Collioure* and another painting of 1914, *Portrait of Yvonne Landsberg*, may be the most extreme examples here, but paintings like *Head, White and Rose* (1914–15); *Goldfish and Palette* (1914–15); *Apples* (1916); *The Rose Marble Table* (1916); *Portrait of Auguste Pellerin (II)* (1917); and *Shafts of Sunlight, the Woods of Trivaux* (1917)—not to mention *The Piano Lesson*, *The Moroccans* and *Bathers by a River*—are all ones that Matisse could not have made earlier because he would not have used black or gray so emphatically except to mark a contour.

In 1917 Matisse began to visit the aged Pierre-Auguste Renoir; they were close until the Impressionist's death in 1919. Years later Matisse passed on to his younger colleague André Masson the story of the first time he brought one of his canvases for the patriarch to see. "Renoir exclaimed, 'You must understand very well that I could never like such a thing! All the same you've put there a pure black that doesn't disturb the light of your painting; if we'd done that it would have created a hole!'" But Matisse felt vindicated. "I'd won my point all the same," he told Masson. "The Impressionists had banished black from their palette; I put it back—and prominently—and a painter as in love with color and light as Renoir had the honesty to confirm it: Black is not only a color but also a light." This conquest of a color that's not a color and a light that's not a light is the inner story of Matisse's art in the war years. His sudden intense production in 1913 of monotypes in which fiercely elegant white lines pierce voluptuous black fields—the two elements perfectly matched so that the delicate line is as substantial as the massive field, the black as luminous as the white—must have convinced him that something similar had to be possible in painting.

It was Gertrude Stein who best captured Matisse's involutedly self-critical way of working: "One was quite certain that for a long part of his being…he had been trying to be certain that he was wrong in doing what he was doing and then when he could not come to be certain that he had been wrong in doing what he had been doing, when he had completely convinced himself that he would not come to be certain that he had been wrong in doing what he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had been doing he was really certain then that he was a great one." If reading that gives you a headache, you've got the idea, and those who think of Matisse only as the artist who claimed to offer "a soothing, calming influence on the mind, something like a good armchair that provides relaxation from fatigue," should be warned that Stein's words give a better idea than the master's own of what's in store at the Art Institute. To see the show properly demands effort, and rewards it; the catalog can be even more taxing. In exhibition and catalog, the curators—D'Alessandro of the Art Institute and John Elderfield of MoMA—ask us to follow Matisse's working methods more closely, by becoming aware of that "evolution, or, if you wish, involution" of which he spoke, within each painting (through his process of revision) and from one painting to the next.

But there's a danger to the method. Two dangers, rather: either losing sight of the painting being scrutinized to the welter of modifications and reconsiderations that the painter thought he'd subsumed into it, or, on the contrary, mistaking the painter's revisions for so many moves in a chess game whose outcome he'd decided in advance. It's worth quoting the catalog at some length to get an idea of just how minutely the curators have inquired into Matisse's process. Here is what D'Alessandro reports about a figure in *Bathers by a River*, a painting from 1909: an X-radiograph "shows how deeply Matisse scratched into the paint as he adjusted the figure's form. Examination with infrared reflectography makes the artist's adjustments in pencil and dark blue and black paint even more clear. Here we can see at least five variations of the right leg, as the bather initially had a wider stance; her left leg grew heavier and then slimmer as Matisse worked toward its final tapered form; and her hunched back was reshaped at least four times." Furthermore, she continues, "An image of the work viewed under ultraviolet light emphasizes the successive layers of paint that Matisse applied over the initial figure as he reduced the torso and limbs on one side and built up the other."

The curators' investigation of the paintings includes close ocular examination; the use of technical means to make more visible aspects that are already visible to the naked eye but otherwise easy to overlook or difficult to see clearly enough to describe properly; and then what might be called the third degree, the use of technical means to see things that are entirely hidden from view in the finished painting. In what may be their most ingenious effort, they have probed a series of photographs of Matisse in his studio in 1913, with an early version of *Bathers by a River* in the background. As the curators explain it, "software was developed to reregister these images so that the details of the painting, which were documented at oblique angles or otherwise distorted, could be flattened and aligned into the same plane; these were then stitched into a never-before-seen composite of the canvas at this critical stage." One might say that they have tried to use the tools of the conservator for the purposes of aesthetic analysis. But to what extent is this valid? At times the desire to draw back the curtain and reveal the hidden workings of the painter's art seems downright prurient. After all, the surfaces of Matisse's paintings already tell so much about his methods—and precisely all that he wished to tell. In 1946 the artist allowed himself to be filmed at work, drawing; in the finished documentary, the footage was shown in slow motion. The film amazed the philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty. "That same brush which, seen with the naked eye, leaped from one act to another," he wrote, "to try ten possible movements, dance in front of the canvas, brush it lightly several times, and crash down finally like a lightning stroke upon the one line necessary." You can see this film in the exhibition, and it's everything Merleau-Ponty says, but it pays to remember Matisse's reaction: "My hand made a strange journey of its own. I never realized before that I did this. I suddenly felt as if I were shown naked—that everyone could see this—it made me deeply ashamed." All those X-rays and infrared and ultraviolet lights would likely have mortified him as well.

Matisse said that only while painting did he believe in God. Merleau-Ponty put it a little differently: "The painter, any painter, *while he is painting*, practices a magical theory of vision." And Walter Benjamin: "Magician is to surgeon as painter is to cinematographer." As art historians, D'Alessandro and Elderfield are committed to an analytic inquiry that tends to dissolve pictorial magic; they approach the paintings like film editors trying to see their development frame by frame, or like surgeons trying to see structure by cutting into the skin; and yet their fascination with the minutiae of Matisse's process, like the obsession of an unrequited lover, also tends to affirm the paintings' aura. It sounds like a contradiction, but if anyone can teach us the innocence that succeeds "objective vision," it's Matisse. D'Alessandro and Elderfield's findings will surely be mined by their colleagues for years to come. For the rest of us, they've succeeded in making some of Modernism's most familiar works seem, if not quite as maddeningly intractable as they could be to their maker, then nevertheless unresolved and difficult again. ■

Intimacies and Dishonesties

by MARIA MARGARONIS

The True Deceiver
By Tove Jansson.
Translated from the Swedish by Thomas Teal.
New York Review Books. 181 pp.
Paper $14.95.

Near the beginning of *Moominsummer Madness* (1954), the fifth of Tove Jansson's much-loved children's books about a free-spirited community of invented creatures, young Moomintroll is thinking about the miniature bark schooner his mother is putting together. He is sure it will be for him, because she always makes the first boat of the summer for the one she likes the best and then "muddles it all away a little" so that no-one will feel hurt; he privately hopes more than anything that the schooner will have a dinghy. But when she comes and floats it on the pond beside him, he sees at once that she has forgotten that vital detail. Still, he rubs his snout against hers and says, "It's the nicest you've ever made." Like Moomin-mamma's "muddling" to protect her family's feelings, Moomintroll's small deceit is an act of generosity, made possible by the silent understanding he has with his mother. Of course there is also pain in it, the sharp pain of a disappointment swallowed.

Tove Jansson was born in Helsinki in 1914; her parents were well-known artists, members of Finland's Swedish-speaking minority. The Jansson family seems to have been the model for the Moomins, the gentle bohemian bipeds who brought Tove fame, first through her books and comic strips and later through TV series and international franchises. ("We've launched a discreet new mini sanitary towel…aiming

Maria Margaronis writes from The Nation*'s London bureau.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at a younger clientele with the slogan 'Hi there, Little My always plays safe,'" reads a fragment from a letter in her collage-story "Messages.") The adult stories translated in *A Winter Book* (1998) offer a child's-eye glimpse of life in the Janssons' Helsinki apartment and on the rocky island in the Pellinge archipelago where the family summered: a father prone to whims and moods that the family must humor; a warm, creative mother who holds everything together; a stream of parties and adventures and eccentric visitors.

The brief author's biography in Jansson's books for children still claims, as it did when I discovered them at 8 or 9, that she lived alone on a small island in Finland. In fact, she lived for more than forty years with her partner, Tuulikki Pietilä, a successful graphic artist. Jansson started writing for adults in her 50s and published eleven books; until now only three of the most autobiographical have been available in English, end-papered with photographs of Tove and Tuulikki, the studio and the island. The photographs are lovely, but the writing is subtly diminished by such packaging, as if it would be of lesser interest without the appealing life.

Jansson was a meticulous stylist, an exact observer of intimacies and dishonesties and the mysterious processes of creativity. Her prose is spare and light—line drawing rather than painting—and her use of form is open, deft and enigmatic. *The Summer Book* and *Fair Play* both hang suspended between story collection and novel, linking scenes from a relationship with the faintest hint of a narrative arc, as if anything more would hamper the work's quiet attentiveness. *The Summer Book* is about a child and her grandmother on a Finnish island, their days shaped by the unobtrusive shadow of an ending. *Fair Play* is a series of vignettes from the life of two women artists, tracing the misunderstandings and face-saving silences, the discretion and tact required to live with another person: "Over the years, she'd learned not to interfere with Jonna's plans and their mysterious blend of perfectionism and nonchalance, a mix not everyone can properly appreciate. Some people just shouldn't be disturbed in their inclinations, whether large or small. A reminder can instantly turn enthusiasm into aversion and spoil everything."

The True Deceiver is a very different book, a novel that claims the authority to direct and surprise the reader even as it investigates the meaning of influence and control, possession and exploitation. First published in Finland in 1982, it is in a sense the mirror image of *Fair Play*, which celebrates with perfect nonchalance the awkward, delicate art of equal companionship. Its territory is the Finnish winter, with its harsh light and biting winds that cut through to the bone. The intimate power struggle between its two protagonists strips them of their illusions and almost of themselves; the uncertainties laid bare go to the heart of human relationship: is there such a thing as kindness, or is all generosity ultimately self-serving? Is truthfulness always honorable, or can it be another form of deceit?

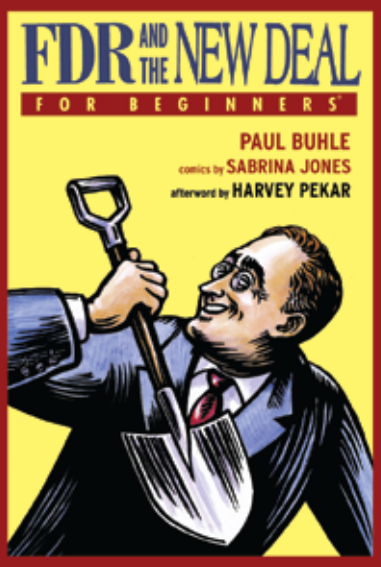
The True Deceiver is set in a summer place off-season, a run-down former fishing town where snow piles up against doors and windows for long months on end. Thin, sharp Katri Kling lives with her younger brother, Mats, and her big nameless dog in the attic above the store. Like Wallace Stevens's snow man, Katri has a mind of winter, seeing "nothing that is not there and the nothing that is." She trusts in numbers and in scrupulous honesty; hates "flattery, empty adjectives, the whole sloppy machinery that people engage in with impunity all the time everywhere to help them get what they want." She is an outcast in the village, and though her neighbors seek her advice about their business affairs, they leave her company with a sense of shame. The book begins in Katri's small apartment, and within a few pages it has slipped into her voice, which seems to come from some prehuman place:

> They say that money smells; it's not true. Money is as pure as numbers. It's people that smell, every one of them with their own furtive stink, and it gets stronger when they're angry or ashamed or when they're afraid.... Dogs are mute and obedient, but they have watched us and know us and can smell how pitiful we are.... Why aren't people afraid of their dogs? How long can what was once a wild animal deny its wildness?

That unmarked slide from the narrator's mind to Katri's will happen again and again, implicating the storyteller in her careful plotting and making the reader experience her world from the inside.

Against angular Katri Kling, Jansson sets round, soft Anna Aemelin, an elderly artist of children's books who lives alone in a house on a hill that resembles "a large, crouched rabbit." Anna has inherited

"*FDR and the New Deal For Beginners* is an important experiment in comics as history, also a study of the grand reform era that readers need for today's and tomorrow's hopes. Get this book!"
—Robert W. McChesney, co-author, *The Death and Life of American Journalism*



www.forbeginnersbooks.com
Distributed by Random House, Inc.
Paperback and e-book on sale July 20th

WWW.THENATIONMART.COM
Nation Mart
The Nation.
The Nation. since 1865
www.then...

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her wealth from her beloved parents and keeps the house as a museum of her childhood, dispatching visitors with an "absent-minded graciousness" and living by her own rhythms. "Perhaps the reason people called Anna Aemelin nice," says the narrator (or is it Katri speaking?), "was because nothing had ever forced her to exhibit malice, and because she had an uncommon ability to forget unpleasant things." Anna and Katri are as starkly opposed as figures in a fairy tale—dark against light, winter against spring, consonants against vowels, hunter against prey—but Jansson muddles the contrast from the start. Anna, too, is stubborn, a literalist in her paintings, which are all meticulous close-ups of the forest floor in spring—except that she adds rabbits with flowery fur. The novel takes her art seriously but never mystifies it; like everything else, it is observed with a cool, appraising eye: "Anna Aemelin made people see. They saw and recalled the essence of the forest, and, for a moment, experienced a vague yearning that felt pleasant and hopeful."

Katri decides to move into Anna's house and claim her wealth for Mats. She begins a campaign to make herself indispensable without dissimulation, ingratiating herself with Anna through her blunt refusal to engage in social niceties. But Katri's definition of honesty is disarmingly literal, applied only to words: she has no scruples, for instance, about staging a burglary to seal the older woman's sense of vulnerability. Nor is Anna a helpless victim; she knows she has something to gain from her peculiar visitor. From her first visit, Katri disturbs her passivity and offers an inkling of power: "It was a small but definite insight. She didn't like coffee. In fact, she never had."

The women's battle is fought at first over small domestic details. As Katri and Mats establish themselves in the house, Anna is subjected to the invasive presence of someone else's gaze and to the humiliation of having her needs anticipated. Katri is like a mirror, clear as ice; she can make herself invisible, know what Anna is thinking, forge her signature and her style. She takes over Anna's wearying correspondence with her readers, reproducing "Anna's uncertainty and her awkward kindness getting lost in needless small talk" but adding her own capacity to cut off expectations. Each defeat for Anna is also a relief: the pile of old furniture Mats throws out onto the ice, the sheaves of business correspondence sorted and stored in files, the lifting of her family's taboo on talking about money. "What you throw away," says Katri, "what you so utterly despise, is quite simply possibilities.... Without money, a person's thinking gets narrow. It shrivels!" As Anna begins to fight back against the invader, she takes on some of her qualities and acquires definition, a spine. "You're incapable of playing," she tells Katri cruelly. "You don't know how to play." Katri, meanwhile, becomes less certain, even guilt-ridden; when Anna begins to seduce her brother and her dog from her, she has no way to resist.

The tale unfolds with Jansson's usual delicacy and restraint. The shift in the balance is slow, with setbacks and reversals; the reader's sympathies are teased and kept in play. Anna and Katri's relationship is more than a power struggle; it is also a version of a love affair that has overstepped some boundary—of respect, or care, or tact. Several stories in *Fair Play* also describe situations in which one partner relinquishes to or borrows from the other qualities that she can't quite acknowledge in herself. In "The Hunter" Jonna semi-accidentally shoots a black-backed gull that has been killing eider chicks, leaving its own chick orphaned; when Mari berates her for her love of guns, she answers as Katri might: "There are times when a healthy ruthlessness is the right thing." The story ends with Mari handing Jonna the pistol as she goes to talk to some hunters who have landed on the island: "Take this. You never know."

The difference between Mari and Jonna, on the one hand, and Anna and Katri, on the other, is partly to do with the characters' intentions—a wish for generous connection set against a hunger to possess—but it is also a function of literary form. Though *The True Deceiver* can be read as a psychological novel, or even as a social satire about small-town life, the women in it are not naturalistic creations. Each one animates something elemental—a drive, an instinct, a way of being in the world—that is also expressed through the book's strong visual imagery: dark Katri in her wolf-skin coat with her dog against the ice; Anna's pale rooms in snow light; a liver on the kitchen counter, "brownish red, swollen with blood"; the frozen bay; the boat Mats longs to build. The story skirts the edge of parable or fable; the crack and melt of winter into spring lends it a frame and structure as well as its austere setting: "Out on the ice, the wind had opened glassy patches between long strips of snow." Katri "watched the dark ice bulge and bend over the swells moving in towards the shore, a long, slow, rising and sinking surge." But Jansson's touch is too light, her voice too wry and knowing to allow the book to crystallize into a rigid pattern. Its oppositions remain dissolved in the particular, until they come to seem uncertain after all.

Jansson said that *The True Deceiver* was particularly hard to write, and it is tempting to see in it a version of her struggle to free herself from the Moomins, as Anna is set free from her oppressive flowery bunnies. Yet it is Katri's consciousness that Jansson most fully inhabits, and Katri's loss that resonates after the book is done. Though it's never made explicit, the "wildness" that undoes her in the end is love—for Mats, on whose behalf she embarks on her campaign, and for the dog that finally turns on her and flees, "running on and on without rest under the ominous ensign of the wolf skin." Like Moomintroll's lie to his mother, Katri's deception turns out also to be an act of generosity, leaving the reader with an unanswerable question. Who in the end is the artist and who the true deceiver: Katri, who forces Anna to see the world more clearly, or Anna, who withdraws into her solitude to paint, uncluttered by rabbits, the moist, dark forest floor? ■

KING
A Filmed Record
Montgomery to Memphis

"Perhaps the most important film documentary ever made"
The Philadelphia Bulletin

The original 3-hour film is now available for the first time in almost 40 years. Order the special 2-disc commemorative DVD from

www.afilmedrecord.com

Cat Lovers Against the Bomb
Wall Calendar 2010

Order from: CLAB Nation, P.O. Box 83466
Lincoln, NE 68501-3466 $8.95 +$1.75
Toll free: 877-778-3434 postage

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics. To advertise, contact amanda@thenation.com or call (212) 209-5414. Mail inquiries to* The Nation *Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.*

ANCIENT SECRETS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES PISO (*aka* Josephus) invented fictional Jesus, Gospels. Amazing but incontrovertible. $15: Abelard, Box 5652 A, Kent, WA 98064.

BLOGS/WEB

JOIN THE FIGHT TO SAVE OUR DEMOCRACY. Actionsources.org takes you to the frontline action organizations that are fighting the treasonous Supreme Court decision that threatens our Democracy. Act now!

SHUBBIIHA LAHUM POEM—It only appeared to leaders Messiah eternally, permanently killed. AlQasas.net.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___ , The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

FROM SEDUCTION TO FREAKY. The only limit is your imagination. No hidden fees. CC only. (888) 666-2059. fetishphonegirls.com.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

MATURE, INTELLIGENT CONVERSATION. Erotic, imaginative, independently operated. missaria.com. (866) 454-3763.

AURAL EROTICA. Well heeled, well spoken, not always well behaved. Fetish friendly, smart & sexy. (800) 717-LIZZ (5499); ElizabethPaxton.com.

GREEN SINGLES. Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. greensingles.com.

DYNAMIC SENIOR. Financially and mentally fit. Liberal, intellectual. Jazz historian. Loves animals, especially turtles. Romantic. ISO woman for positive relationship. Bay Side, Queens. If interested, Reply Nation Box 741 or e-mail irwinspark1@msn.com.

GENTLE, QUIET WIDOW. 70, petite. Enjoys outdoors, cultural and community events, gardening, reading, PBS, cooking, classical music, photography, eco-travel. Homeowner, under-consumer. Almost noncomputerized. Seeks gentleman, 68-plus with similar interests, to share companionable, slower-paced lifestyle. Reply Nation Box 862.

MERCHANDISE

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at thenationmart.com and exercise subtle and not-so-subtle dissent. Most items are union-made. Great gifts!

INTELLIGENT DESIGN! Viking Age artifacts in replica from Scandinavian museums: jewelry, glassware, Norwegian pewter, figurines, tapestries. vikingtrader.net.

MERCHANDISE

EXPRESS YOURSELF! Stickers, shirts, buttons, emblems and more—evolvefish.com. (800) 386-5846 for catalog or to order now.

CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB: 2010 wall calendar. $8.95 + $1.75 postage. Cats & Peace: what more could you want in a calendar? Order from: CLAB-NC, PO Box 83466, Lincoln, NE 68501, or toll-free (877) 778-3434, or catcal@aol.com.

NEW YORK CITY

RADICAL HISTORY TOUR of Greenwich Village and Lower East Side. Sponsored by Socialist Party of NYC, Sundays 1 PM. Call (646) 678-5217.

ORGANIZATIONS

SEATTLE *Nation* discussion group invites you to join us. E-mail billcnecessary@gmail.

NEW *NATION* ASSOCIATES DISCUSSION GROUP forming in Southwest Kansas (Hugoton). Contact: Jack Golding (620) 428-5647 or golding6231@yahoo.com.

ST. LOUIS *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP invites you to join us every fourth Sunday of the month. For information, e-mail tnova@swbell.net.

LANSING, MICH., *Nation* discussion group is looking for new members. We also would like to link up with any progressive discussion groups meeting in Michigan and assist anyone throughout the state seeking to establish a *Nation* discussion group. Contact: richardc@michcom.net or (517) 627-4591.

SAN FRANCISCO *Nation* discussion group. For information, e-mail evilhess@gmail.com.

NASHVILLE, TENN., *Nation* discussion group. Contact Howard Romaine. hromaine@gmail.com.

BERKELEY, CALIF., *Nation* discussion group. E-mail prehend@gmail.com.

SAN JOSE, CALIF., discussion group meets the fourth Sunday of the month, 1 to 3 PM, downtown. Contact Lois at loisaalbq@yahoo.com for more info.

ASHEVILLE, NC, *Nation* discussion group forming. Contact mgibney@unca.edu.

THE SPOKANE/INLAND NORTHWEST *Nation* discussion group: PO Box 293, Cheney, WA 99004; locus29@aol.com.

SAN ANTONIO *Nation* discussion group. Second Mondays, Grady's Bar-B-Q at San Pedro and Jackson Keller. Contact lenwheeler@satx.rr.com for more information.

ORGANIZATIONS

SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF., *Nation* discussion group meetings are starting up. First meeting date: February 10. E-mail loisaalbq@yahoo.com.

PLEASANTON, CALIF., Fremont, San Ramon, Danville, Dublin, Livermore *Nation* discussion group now forming. Call John at (925) 462-6815 or e-mail supervalue10@aol.com.

PRO BONO SERVICES WANTED

PENNSYLVANIA CIVIL RIGHTS LAWYER representing prison inmates denied adequate medical care seeking similarly inclined physician to assist in evaluating records and treatment. Contact larrick.st@verizon.net.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST. Anxiety, depression, relationship issues. Near USF. Sliding scale. (415) 289-6990. paulabranchholt.com. Paula Holt, LCSW.

REAL ESTATE

LEFT COAST, US. Work with The Realtor Who's on Your Side. Norma J.F. Harrison. (510) 526-3968. (866) 264-9029. NormaHa@pacbell.net.

GREATER SACRAMENTO–AREA REALTOR seeks progressive clients. Margo McBride, Remax Professionals. (916) 721-8334. margomcbride@comcast.net. margomcbride.com.

SANTA FE: PROGRESSIVE REALTOR® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Santa Fe Realty Partners. (505) 690-4840 cell, (877) 982-6207 toll free, or peter@peterkahn.com.

TRAVEL

MATT BARRETT'S GREECE TRAVEL GUIDE: Informative, entertaining, essential and free. greecetravel.com.

ATTENTION CHAUTAUQUANS: Summer vacation! Three-, four- and seven-day visits. Day passes, two-room suites, breakfast/parking and shuttle. Chautauqua Suites and Expo Center. Call (716) 269-7829 or visit chautauquasuites.com.

Events

NATIONAL

2010 URPE Summer Conference

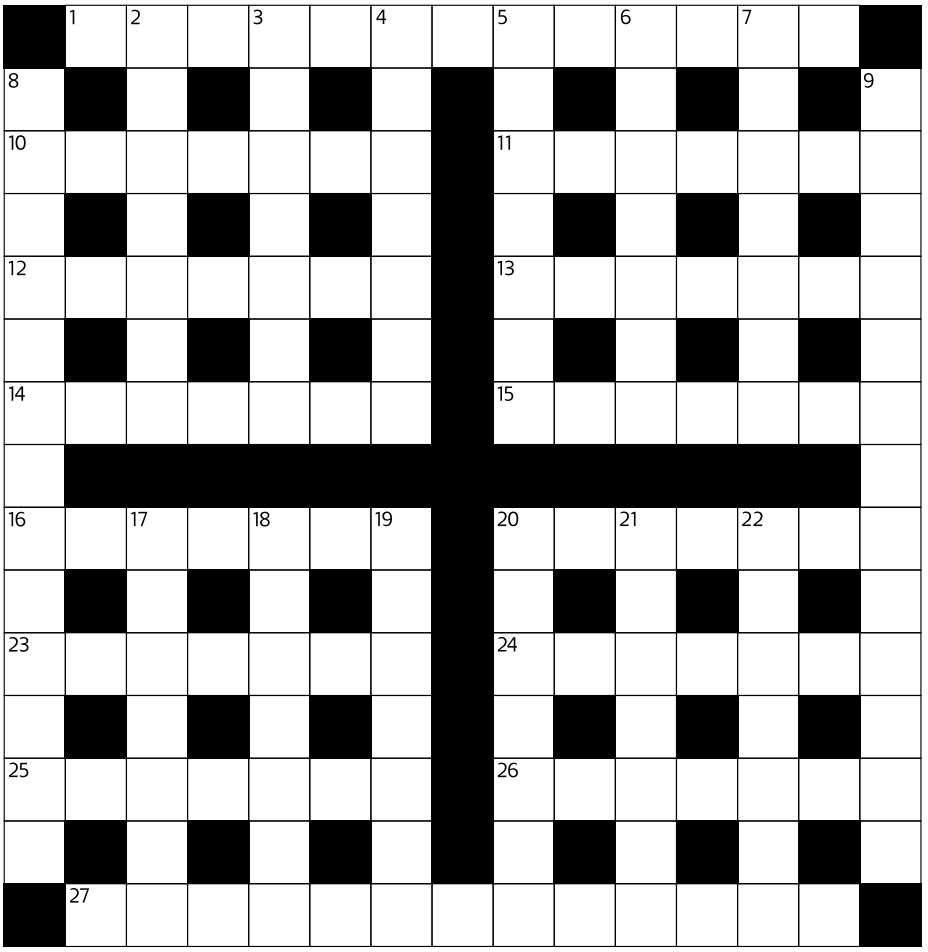
■ "Global Climate Change and Capitalism." Friday, July 30, through Monday, August 2, Epworth Camp and Retreat Center, High Falls, New York. Register by July 15 for discounted rates. Epworth Center, located between the Catskill and Shawangunk Mountains, provides opportunities for swimming, hiking and informal socializing as well as workshops and panel discussions. Children are welcome. Rates: sliding scale. For more information, contact URPE at urpe@labornet.org or (413) 577-0806, or visit our website at urpe.org. For speakers and resources on these and related topics year round, contact Economy Connection at (201) 792-7459 or soapbox@urpe.org.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $210 for 50 words; $260 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Amanda at (212) 209-5414.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Puzzle No. 1590

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One should auger best of all, and want to get started… (5,2,3,3)

10 …and one might augur well, if told to be good. (7)

11 A parent is about to hold the winner at Actium. (7)

12 Following one of the things that make residue? (7)

13 The main turning point to one rhyming with squash. (7)

14 Standards set by junior officers. (7)

15 Dish that returns the title to the emperor. (7)

16 How some bad nails are not stored away. (7)

20 Jack-low combination, but you might need more than one shot with it. (7)

23 Just a tumble-down place of spiritual association. (7)

24 One aspect of Locarno pertains to a kind of luminous light. (7)

25 The band may carry the show, but it's frequently changed. (7)

26 Sauce that could be taken by degrees in a tortilla. (7)

27 A flier that went to school? (It should take experience to make one.) (8,5)

DOWN

2 Proves a nuisance when her airs alter it. (7)

3 Tom might be in a state, briefly, having the habit. (7)

4 How one behaves in the evening? (7)

5 An acute ache really shows up the head of the class! (7)

6 Gets up to look around what we all were, and gets dressed. (7)

7 It might be necessary to get a second-hand organ. (7)

8 If the radio program drifts, it might be the direction of the speaker is wrong, getting this. (3,3,7)

9 Fish stories might be, but mumps make it. (4,2,7)

17 Hospital patients might be so headed, as one makes an advance. (7)

18 Was the speech of the Spartans? (7)

19 What the fastest gunman gets to allow a tiny bit of water in the fall. (7)

20 Found and ate cold hash. (7)

21 Old Indian or French name for an animal. (7)

22 With such, is the up-keep criticized? (7)

Please see the Letters page for the explanation of the first part of clue 9 in the June 7 puzzle, No. 1588 (that is, if you were as stumped as we were).

This puzzle originally appeared in the June 21, 1975, issue.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1589

L	I	V	E	A	N	D	■	L	E	T	L	I	V	E
I	■	A	■	I	■	E	■	O	■	O	■	S	■	S
M	I	N	T	S	■	L	A	C	E	R	A	T	E	S
I	■	I	■	L	■	O	■	U	■	P	■	L	■	A
T	A	S	T	E	B	U	D	S	■	E	M	E	R	Y
E	■	H	■	■	■	S	■	T	■	D	■	■	■	E
D	R	I	B	B	L	E	■	S	C	O	L	D	E	D
■	■	N	■	U	■	■	■	■	■	E	■	I	■	■
E	N	G	O	R	G	E	■	R	A	D	I	A	L	S
N	■	■	■	S	■	D	■	E	■	■	■	P	■	A
C	A	P	E	T	■	I	M	P	E	A	C	H	E	D
A	■	O	■	I	■	T	■	U	■	Z	■	R	■	I
S	C	I	E	N	T	I	S	T	■	T	E	A	R	S
E	■	N	■	T	■	O	■	E	■	E	■	G	■	T
S	E	T	D	O	W	N	■	D	E	C	A	M	P	S

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2010 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 420235, Palm Coast, FL 32142-0235, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Bleuchip International, PO Box 25542, London, ON N6C 6B2. Canada Post: Publications Mail Agreement No.: 40612608. When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions. Basic annual subscription price: $79 for 47 issues. Back issues $6 prepaid ($8 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 420235, Palm Coast, FL 32142-0235. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

LICENSED TO GALE/OTHO
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. GOV'T GOLD AT-COST

TODAY - The United States Rare Coin & Bullion Reserve has scheduled the final release of U.S. Gov't Issued $5 Gold Coins previously held at the U.S. Mint at West Point. These Gov't Issued Gold Coins are being released on a first-come, first-serve basis, for the incredible markup-free price of $140 each. This "at-cost" Gov't Gold offer could be cancelled at any time. Do not delay. Call a Sr. Gold Specialist today.

Own Gov't Issued Gold Coins

DUE TO STRICT LIMITED AVAILABILITY, TELEPHONE ORDERS WILL BE ACCEPTED ON A FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVE BASIS ACCORDING TO THE TIME AND DATE OF THE ORDER.

Markup-Free Price of ONLY

$140.00 EACH

Coins enlarged to show detail.

If you've been waiting to move your hard-earned money into precious metals, the time is now to consider transferring your U.S. dollars into United States Government Gold. The Gold market is on the move, up more than 300% over the past 10 years - outpacing the DOW, NASDAQ and S&P 500. Call immediately to order your United States Gold Coins direct from our Main Vault Facility, "at-cost", for the amazing price of only $140 per coin. Special arrangements can be made for Gold purchases over $50,000. Order your Gold today!

1 – Gov't Issued Gold Coin	**$**	**140.00**
5 – Gov't Issued Gold Coins	**$**	**700.00**

AT-COST OFFER LIMITED TO PURCHASES OF 5 COINS ($700) PER HOUSEHOLD PLUS SHIPPING & INSURANCE. MINIMUM ORDER 2 GOLD COINS.

CALL TOLL FREE (24 Hours A Day, 7 Days A Week)

1-888-514-5011

MASTERCARD • VISA • AMEX • DISCOVER • CHECK

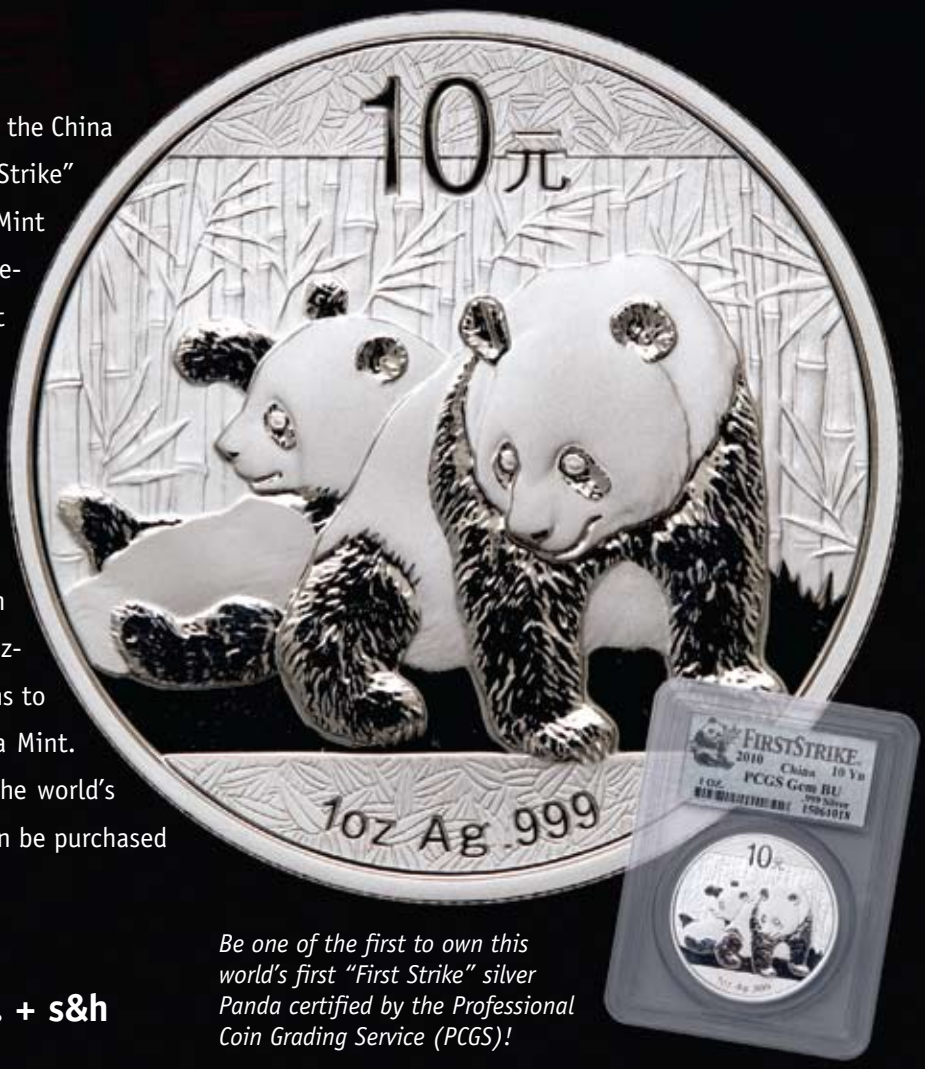
UNITED STATES
RARE COIN & BULLION RESERVE
Distributor of Government Gold. Not affiliated with the U.S. Government.

Vault No. TN10-140

No one, including the United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve, can guarantee a Gold Coin's future value will go up or down. © 2010 United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

First Ever—First Strike Pandas!



Never in the history of the Panda series has the China Mint authorized the release of a "First Strike" coin—until now! New for 2010, the China Mint has issued this incredible first-strike, one-ounce silver coin in an exclusive agreement with the New York Mint! These .999 pure silver Pandas are the very first coins struck from new dies. Each has been encapsulated and certified by PCGS in superb Gem Brilliant Uncirculated condition.

One look at the distinctive Panda design and you'll agree that the coin is simply amazing! We've been literally working for months to secure these coins directly from the China Mint. Our efforts ultimately paid off, and now the world's first authorized First Strike Silver Panda can be purchased in America only from the New York Mint!

Just $39.95 ea. + s&h
Buy 5 and SAVE!—$34.95 ea. + s&h

Be one of the first to own this world's first "First Strike" silver Panda certified by the Professional Coin Grading Service (PCGS)!

Don't miss out on this world's first edition—Call today!

800-585-9240

Ext. 2909

New York Mint
Edina, MN

©2010 New York Mint, LLC. Prices and availability subject to change; does not include shipping & handling. Not affiliated with the U.S. Government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED